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ABSTRACT

This document contains profiles of nine school/business collaboration efforts around the country. The profiles are the result of direct field studies of the programs conducted in 1985-86 and part of a three-year project on school business partnerships that focused on the nature of the school/business relationship and the types of youth being served. The following three types of programs are presented: (1) programs directed at individual students; (2) initiatives directed at individual schools; and (3) collaborations whose activities are directed at school districts or systems. Most of these programs are for youth who are educationally or socially at risk. Each profile contains the following information: (1) introduction and overview; (2) context and history; (3) program administration; (4) key features and components; (5) youth group served; (6) outcomes; and (7) conclusions and recommendations. For each program a name and address is given to obtain further information. An 18-item bibliography is included. (VM)

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Volume II: Collaboration Profiles

Allies in Education

Schools and Businesses Working Together for At-Risk Youth

September 1987

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Volume II: Collaboration Profiles

Allies in Education

Schools and Businesses Working Together for At-Risk Youth

by Bernard J. McMullan (coordinator)
Phyllis Snyder
Sheila Rosenblum
David Gruber
Jennifer L. Tyler

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword iii

Off-Campus Work Study Program (St. Louis, Missouri). A-1
Phyllis Snyder and Sheila Rosenblum

New Horizons (Richmond, Virginia). B-1
Phyllis Snyder

Teen Opportunities Promote Success (Birmingham, Alabama) . . C-1
Phyllis Snyder

Philadelphia High School Academies (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) D-1
Phyllis Snyder and Bernard J. McMullan

Tenneco/Jefferson Davis Business School Partnership (Houston, Texas). E-1
Jennifer Tyler and David Gruber

American Can/Martin Luther King Jr. High School Partnership (New York, New York). F-1
David Gruber

Regional Occupational Centers/Programs (State of California). G-1
Bernard J. McMullan and Phyllis Snyder

Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education (Atlanta, Georgia). H-1
Phyllis Snyder and Sheila Rosenblum

Boston Compact (Boston, Massachusetts) I-1
Bernard J. McMullan, Phyllis Snyder, Sheila Rosenblum and Jennifer Tyler

FOREWORD

Volume II of Allies in Education includes separate profiles of nine school/business collaboration efforts. The profiles are based on direct field studies of the programs, which were conducted in 1985 and 1986. Public/Private Ventures' three-year study of school/business partnerships was funded by The CIGNA Foundation, The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, The Exxon Education Foundation, The IBM Corporation, The Pew Memorial Trust and The Rockefeller Foundation. The assessment addresses three basic issues, which are examined in Volume I of Allies in Education:

- What is the nature of school/business collaborations? What achievements are expected?
- What types of youth are served by these collaborative efforts?
- What role does business play in the collaborations? How did business get involved? Why does it continue to be involved?

Profiles of programs directed at individual students are presented first. Programs in this category are: Off-Campus Work Study Program, St. Louis, Missouri; New Horizons, Richmond, Virginia; Teen Opportunities Promotes Success, Birmingham, Alabama; and Philadelphia High School Academies, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Next, initiatives directed at individual schools are presented. The two programs in this category are American Can/Martin Luther King, Jr. High School Partnership, New York, New York; and Tenneco/Jefferson Davis Business School Partnership, Houston, Texas.

Collaborations whose activities are directed at school districts or systems are presented last. Programs in this category are: Regional Occupational Centers/Programs, State of California; Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education, Atlanta, Georgia; and Boston Compact, Boston, Massachusetts.

Each profile addresses the central questions of the overall national assessment. In general, each is organized as follows:

- Brief introduction and overview of the program model;
- Context and history of the program;
- Program administration;

- Key program features and components;
- Youth served;
- Outcomes; and
- Conclusions and recommendations.

If additional information on the program is desired, names and contact information are given at the end of each profile.

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

Off Campus Work/Study Program
(Careers in the Classroom)
St. Louis, Missouri

by Phyllis Snyder and Sheila Rosenblum

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. HISTORY AND CONTEXT 3

III. PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND ROLES 7

IV. KEY FEATURES: THE PROGRAM IN ACTION 11

V. THE STUDENTS IN THE PROGRAM 15

VI. PROGRAM COSTS 17

VII. PROGRAM OUTCOMES 19

VIII. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS 21

I. INTRODUCTION

The Off Campus Work/Study Program, also known as Careers in the Classroom, is a 17-year-old program administered through the vocational education division of the St. Louis Public School system. A unique cooperative venture with private industry, the program serves between 150 and 200 high school seniors in a work/study program conducted entirely in a business or at a worksite. Six different work or program sites are sponsored by either a single corporation or group of businesses in the same industry. At the site, students spend half a day in regular school classes, taught by St. Louis public school teachers, completing their graduation requirements and preparing for employment. For the remainder of the day, students do part-time paid work under the supervision of regular employees and teacher coordinators.

The program was designed and implemented by the school district with the support of the Danforth Foundation and the assistance of private sector representatives interested in addressing the employment-readiness needs of entry-level job applicants. The program's goal is to increase the employability of St. Louis youth by providing supervised work experience and exposure to careers. The program emphasizes preemployment skills and appropriate work behavior by reinforcing the connection between basic skills competence and the use of these skills in the workplace.

The program does not target a special population of students though participants must have completed enough graduation requirements to be classified as seniors. Nor are students required to have been enrolled in a vocational education program. The program tends to attract/recruit two types of students: those who have become impatient with school, are ready to make the transition to work, and either want or need encouragement to graduate (including those with good records); and those not doing well in school and whom guidance counselors feel might do better in a more business-like, nontraditional school environment.

The St. Louis Off Campus Work/Study Program displays several distinctive features:

- It was an early entrant in a field where many "partnership programs" are relatively new;
- It is administered by the school district, rather than a business or intermediary organization;
- It is part of the vocational education system, but it differs from the traditional co-op work/study program;

- It is not targeted but attracts mostly minority and many disadvantaged students;

- It has had the continuing participation of a number of major businesses or industries; and

- It has had to adapt to a number of changes in both the educational and business environments, including desegregation and changing economic conditions.

For these reasons it was felt that valuable lessons could be learned from the St. Louis experience.

This profile will describe the program's goals and history; its operation, management and outcomes during the 1984-85 school year; and its changes over time. It will also present some lessons learned from an examination of this program. Information for the profile was collected during two visits, totalling five days, to St. Louis in the spring of 1985. Interviews were conducted with Peter Rein, manager of the program; the current Superintendent of Schools and Associate Superintendent; three company coordinators; five teachers and a sample of students. Additional information was gained from worksite and classroom observations and review of documentary materials.

II. HISTORY AND CONTEXT

PROGRAM HISTORY

The development and evolution of the Off Campus Work/Study Program was heavily influenced by an entrepreneurial and innovative Superintendent of schools, the presence in St. Louis of an interested foundation willing to lend support and two corporations with a history of civic involvement, and the assignment of a competent, committed manager to coordinate the program.

The program began in 1968. At that time, Dr. William Kottmeyer, Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, was interested in developing a new work/study program for high school seniors. He worked to develop a program that would increase their exposure to careers and employment opportunities in the St. Louis area and improve their preparation for the world of work. As a vehicle, he envisioned a unique cooperative venture between the school system and the private sector--one that would exceed the requirements of federal guidelines for a vocational education, co-op program.

The superintendent had a close relationship with the Danforth Foundation; based in St. Louis, it traditionally allocates 15 percent of its grants to local projects. He interested the foundation in his vision and Danforth awarded a small planning grant to the school district to fund the start-up of an innovative work/study program. Not only did Danforth funding assist program start-up, but the foundation's involvement was instrumental in securing private sector participation.

St. Louis does not have a long history of extensive business involvement in the schools. For many years, an organization called Civic Progress, a small group of Chief Executive Officers of major corporations in St. Louis, has served as a clearinghouse for the business community's ventures in community services. Civic Progress' interest in community affairs did not extend to the schools until recent years; when the Off Campus Work/Study Program began, there was no immediately identifiable business group with which the schools could work.

The Danforth Foundation was able to assist in creating appropriate linkages. Two St. Louis companies, Ralston-Purina and Stix Baer Fuller, agreed to participate and meet the program requirements. Each agreed to provide classroom space and jobs for about 15 students during the first year. The wages of those at Stix Baer were subsidized by the program; Ralston-Purina paid its student wages.

Enlisting Ralston-Purina was fortuitous, not only because of the company's strong standing in the community, but also because of the choice of Mablean Perkins as the company coordinator for the program. She has remained in the company and with the program since its inception, and during the 1984-85 school year, she spent about 40 percent of her time on program-related activities.

Private sector participation has changed over the years. At one point, there were as many as 11 corporate participants. Now there are five--Ralston-Purina, Blue Cross, the American Institute of Banking (representing multiple banks), McGraw-Hill, and local Shell Oil and Amoco service stations--and one program at City Hall. Over the years, companies left the program for several reasons, most significantly the loss of wage subsidies after the planning years and a declining economy in the St. Louis area that resulted in fewer jobs for youth at certain worksites. Dissatisfaction with the program was not specifically cited as a reason for withdrawal.

PROGRAM CONTEXT

The Off Campus Work/Study Program has been affected by several changes in its school district and community context: court-ordered desegregation, declining enrollment (due in part to white flight), increasing enrollment in an already strong parochial and private school system, and an economic slump in the 1970s.

When the program began in 1968, the size of the St. Louis Public School system was double its current enrollment of 57,000. (One person interviewed commented that in the 1970s, St. Louis had the dubious distinction of being the city that was losing population most rapidly.) The district faced court-ordered desegregation in 1981 and is continuing to work out the specifications of a court-ordered desegregation plan.

The current desegregation plan encompasses 23 school districts located in the city and county, and provides for voluntary interchange of the city's black students and the county's white students. An extensive network of magnet schools within the city has been designed to attract the brightest and most motivated students from both city and county.

The desegregation agreement has affected recruitment and enrollment in the Work/Study program in two ways. Since the vocational education court decree required that a specific number of slots in the banking program be reserved for white students, who were harder to recruit, the spaces could not be filled by interested and eligible black students. In addition, the district provided new and innovative opportunities for all students, and eligible students were able to choose from many competing alternatives to this program.

The current superintendent, Dr. Jerome Jones, is the fourth person to serve as superintendent since the beginning of the Off Campus Work/Study Program. Dr. Jones was recruited from outside the district and became superintendent in 1983. He is still cultivating relationships with both the business community and within the school system. Many of his contacts with the business community are in the context of the local Partnership Program (Adopt-a-School) or other special projects. The Work/Study Program is considered only one of several vocational education offerings and is not as prominent in St. Louis as it is in the wider education and training community.

III. PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND ROLES

The Off Campus Work/Study Program is administered in the vocational education division of the St. Louis Public Schools. Peter Rein is manager of the program, and has been its driving force in the school district for many years. From his central coordinating office at the Fallon Technical Center, Rein coordinates the six different Off Campus programs. Among his responsibilities are recruiting employers and job slots, recruiting students, and placing students in programs and sometimes in specific jobs. The program is further structured around the following roles:

- A company or industry coordinator at each of the program sites. The coordinator represents the company's or industry's curriculum needs and serves as a liaison to the personnel office that develops jobs and work stations to which the students are assigned. The extent of a company coordinator's involvement varies from one location to another.

- Teachers for each of the programs. The teachers are employees of the school district. They provide instruction in English and math to meet graduation requirements, preemployment skills such as job-seeking and appropriate work behavior, and technical/-vocational skills such as typing, word processing and calculating appropriate to the local industry. The teachers also visit and check students' on-the-job performance, and they serve as liaison with job supervisors to help deal with any problems that emerge during the course of the students' employment.

  The teachers in each of the programs play a large role in determining the curriculum and teaching strategies for their classes. For example, teachers at the Banking Institute use a variety of techniques, such as role-playing, to stress oral communication. Teachers in some programs work closely with the company coordinator to identify shortcomings and to improve curriculum. Ralston-Purina has strengthened the focus on communication skills and has offered to provide company speakers to convey to students the work world's demands.

- o Job supervisors. They serve as direct supervisors of youth on the job; some are assigned to this role, and some volunteer to supervise.

- o Guidance counselors within the high schools. As part of the process to recruit students to participate in the program, Rein solicits the counselor's cooperation in recruiting and referring students.

Overall, there is a clear division of labor in the structure and management of the program. The school district runs the program and is in charge of its formal education elements, the academic curriculum and the recruitment of students. Businesses provide jobs and work supervision. Joint decision-making may occur in planning curriculum to develop employability and placing of students in particular jobs. Sometimes employers want to interview students, but often they rely on Rein to make judgments about appropriate placements, based on counselor's recommendations, and the preferences and skills of the students.

MOTIVATION FOR BUSINESS PARTICIPATION

As is the case with many partnership programs in which the primary role of business is to provide paid employment for youth, the majority of participating businesses are service industries. These businesses typically have many entry-level jobs that can be filled by high school seniors, and they seek to promote their services to the public through participation in community service activities. Participation in an employment and training program is also viewed as a community contribution.

Nonprofit corporations, such as Blue Cross, cannot make monetary contributions to the community, and therefore contribute to the life of the city in other ways. A program such as Careers in the Classroom offers such an alternative opportunity to do so.

Although the program benefits the companies by screening student workers, sharing in their supervision and serving as a source of permanent employees, management's initial willingness to participate stems largely from a sense of civic responsibility. Only later, when a firm tallies the number of student employees that became permanent hires, does the economic benefit become evident, though it is rarely acknowledged.

MOTIVATION FOR STUDENT PARTICIPATION

From the school district's perspective, the aim of the program has been to help students successfully enter the workplace. From the students' perspective, the main incentive to participate seems to be having a job. For many, the opportunity to leave the traditional school setting a year early, gain work experience and still graduate also makes the program attractive. The small size of each program appears to be another selling point for many participants.

IV. KEY FEATURES: THE PROGRAM IN ACTION

The program varies from site to site in atmosphere, the styles and experiences of the staff and the needs of industry. But there are key components common to all: formal on-site classes and the paid work experience.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Program participants are high school seniors. During the regular school year, students have four class periods between 8:30 a.m. and 12:15 p.m. One function of the educational program is to provide the required social studies and the fourth year of English. In all the programs except the one conducted at service stations, office skills are taught in a double period of business practice. All the programs also emphasize developing employability skills such as resume writing, interviewing, verbal communication and appropriate work behavior.

The reinforcement of employability skills is facilitated by locating classes in a place of business. Youth learn early in the school year that they are expected to conform to the norms of the workplace. In the case of the banking program, classes are held at the American Institute of Banking; from there students go to one of several banks for their afternoon jobs. Classes in the service stations program are held in a trailer. Students work at one of several participating stations in the afternoon.

At all work locations, students dress and look like their fellow workers, rather than like typical high school students. This is particularly noticeable for the banking students who dress in businesslike attire. The relationship of basic skills to employability skills is also emphasized as the two are integrated in academic classes. For example, writing assignments for English classes are often in the form of business letters, applications, job descriptions, etc.

A special feature of the instructional component is the high level of interest shown by the teachers and the relationships they frequently form with their students. Teachers like teaching in the program for several reasons: the pupil/teacher ratio is lower than in the regular high school classroom; students are generally motivated; and teachers have an opportunity to be in a business environment--one that is different from the regular high school. Less time is wasted, making for a more efficient and effective classroom experience.

One disadvantage of holding classes at a business location is that students are not included in school activities and the special features associated with the senior year of high school.

Students do, however, graduate with their home school and are encouraged to participate in special senior activities. After classes, students eat lunch in the company cafeteria (if one exists) and then report to their jobs.

THE WORK EXPERIENCE

Paid work experience is a fundamental part of the program, and it is the major attraction for students who work 20 hours a week or more. Most are paid minimum wage, though wages vary from company to company. At the Federal Reserve Bank, students are given raises when salaries of all other employees are raised.

The jobs are entry-level. Most are white collar office jobs in the service industries, the exception being those in the service station program. We observed that most of the tasks performed by students at the Federal Reserve Bank, Blue Cross and Ralston-Purina involved such office skills as filing, answering the telephone, entering data, and making calculations. Ralston-Purina also offers a number of laboratory jobs for students who are interested in science and have taken science courses. According to supervisors interviewed at Ralston-Purina, fewer students accepted into the program in recent years have been qualified for these openings.

All of the jobs that were observed appear to provide good learning experiences. Equally important, students were dispersed around the job sites and seemed to be integrated into the regular work force. They were hard to identify unless pointed out by the coordinator.

Students were supervised at the job by regular employees, many of whom volunteer for these assignments or request student workers. Training for supervision is usually provided by the company coordinators, who also organize a program orientation each year. Classroom teachers talk periodically with the work supervisor about the students' performances, and tend to use problems or weaknesses as a basis for class discussion of business practice. Supervisors interviewed at several worksites agreed that students generally become productive workers after a short period of training.

One criticism has been that students are not always prepared to begin work in the fall. As a result, Ralston-Purina and Blue Cross have initiated orientation classes for the students in the summer prior to their beginning employment. Initiated two years ago, these classes take place three days a week from 9:30 a.m. to 11 a.m. during an eight-week period. In the banking program, students are assigned to jobs and begin work during the summer prior to their senior year. The lack of available support from teachers and classes during the summer has sometimes resulted in problems related to work-appropriate behavior that are not faced during the school year.

Mentoring is not specifically required of supervisors in the program, but, as a result of the close relationship that often develops between students and supervisors on the job, respondents mentioned that many students discuss career plans and decisions with their supervisors and use them as sources of information and assistance. Supervisors and company coordinators who were interviewed appeared to know the students well and to have developed a sincere interest in them.

V. THE STUDENTS IN THE PROGRAM

This program is not targeted to youth most at risk of dropping out of school, in large part because that population would not be hired by the companies in the program. The youth who enter the program are primarily average students who have achieved passing grades and remained in school, but who often lack career goals and the skills to obtain good jobs when they graduate from high school.

Most of the students who apply and are accepted are not in the Vocational Education track; many of the students in that track have already been placed in a job in the co-op program. The majority of the students in the Off Campus Program are either in the general or college preparatory track. By the end of their junior year, some have lost interest in school, though they still attend. Students are attracted to this program because they are seeking work experience either to help them decide what to do after high school, or because it makes the last year in high school different, and therefore special. Most of the students in the program are minorities, and given the socioeconomic situation of St. Louis, many are probably poor. However, based on our observations, many of the students had good grades and probably chose the program because they were bored with the regular school program.

In the 1984-85 school year, 145 youth participated in the program, distributed across the six programs as follows:

- 34 at Ralston-Purina;
- 12 at Blue Cross;
- 20 at St. Louis City Hall;
- 20 at McGraw-Hill;
- 24 at the American Institute of Banking; and
- 34 in the service station program.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment is conducted largely by the program manager, Peter Rein, with the cooperation of guidance counselors in the area high schools. Students are recruited at the beginning of the second semester of their junior year. Counselors are responsible for informing students about the program and validating eligibility of the students who apply.

During the first 10 years of the program, the success of the recruitment was helped by the relationship that Rein had developed with the guidance counselors, who individually encouraged students whom they considered suitable candidates. However, the changes in the school district that have resulted from the desegregation order have affected the recruitment process. The county schools, whose students are eligible for this as well as other programs in the district, are much more geographically dispersed, so it is difficult for Rein to visit counselors to establish important personal contacts and relationships. Thus, the counselors are not as knowledgeable about the program and do not promote it as well.

The number of participants has diminished, from a high of 250 youth to a 1984-1985 size of 145 students. It has become more difficult for the program to recruit enough students to fill available slots. Even at Ralston-Purina, considered one of the most desirable companies, it is harder to find 40 students qualified to fill available slots. Many of the top minority students, who formerly participated because of the quality of the jobs, now attend programs in the county schools or one of the magnet programs. It is also more difficult to attract white students from the county schools, though racial balance is required by court order.

Rein often takes former students with him to promote the program in the high schools. Currently, the companies play no direct role in the recruitment process. However, Ms. Perkins of Ralston-Purina thought that using company representatives to help with the recruitment process might generate more attention and excitement.

VI. PROGRAM COSTS

The operation and management of the Off Campus Work/Study Program incurs direct costs to the school district and both direct and indirect costs to business.

The school district pays for the full-time management by Peter Rein and his secretary and the salaries of teachers in the program. Although not directly charged to this program, the time of the guidance counselors in the high schools and their involvement in recruiting is a cost of the program.

Employers provide student salaries, the released time of the company coordinator, the employees to train and supervise students on the job, and the space for the classrooms. Although the last component differentiates this program from other work/study or co-op programs where there is no requirement that students attend classes at the worksite, business plays little or no role in the classroom.

The allocation of these costs within the company budgets varies from company to company. In some cases, the entire cost of the program (including student wages) is taken out of the budget of the personnel or human services office, where the company coordinator often works. In other companies, individual departments that wish to hire students must bear the cost of the students' wages.

VII. PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Outcomes of a program such as this can be viewed from a variety of perspectives: benefits to youth, benefits to the companies that employ them, and other unintended effects.

BENEFITS TO THE YOUTH

A 1981 article on the Off-Campus Work/Study Program printed in a monthly newspaper entitled "You and Youth" presented careful documentation of the 12-year record of this program. At the time, the annual post-graduation job placement rate was 75 percent to 80 percent with a 15 percent to 20 percent continued education rate. Attrition was less than five percent, and follow-up studies showed that graduates were advancing on the job and continuing to higher education.

Recent documentation has been less thorough. We do know that there are a total of 2,600 graduates of the program. Attrition rates are rising; in 1984-85 there was a 17 percent attrition rate. Students who remain have very positive feelings about the program. A number of banking students we interviewed felt that the program had helped them to focus their career goals and that they were better prepared to go out and look for a job. It was particularly important to them to get a "slice of reality" to find out what the world of work was like. They also valued the bonds that developed both with the teachers and with the other students because of the small size of the classes and the extra attention that this afforded them. The teachers and supervisors saw the maturation that took place during the course of the program--the youth changing from students to serious workers--as an important outcome.

Since many participants in this program already planned to seek postsecondary education, it is not immediately obvious whether participation has helped them to clarify and strengthen their goals or whether it has simply been a more interesting way for them to pass their senior year in high school. For those who desire to continue working, participation provided access to environments that might not have been available and to someone in the company with whom they can discuss career plans.

For some, participation has resulted in continued employment or a return to the company after receiving post-high school training. At each of the several worksites visited, between eight and 12 of the employees seen on a tour were former program participants, some of whom now supervise current students.

BENEFITS TO THE COMPANIES

Businesses benefit from participation in the program: they receive screened and supervised part-time workers who are simultaneously receiving on-the-job training. But companies rarely acknowledge the benefits that accrue to them when they participate in this type of program.

Ralston-Purina has been the only company to document the number of permanent hires from the program. Ralston's initial involvement came out of a sense of civic responsibility and, in fact, remained the motivating force for the first 10 years of the program. However, in 1980, Ralston got a new chief executive officer who began to look carefully at all the areas in which Ralston was exercising its social responsibility. At that point, Mablean Perkins began to quantify the benefits that the company had received from its participation in the program, and they turned out to be considerable. What was viewed as simply a contribution turned out to provide substantial economic benefits to the company.

At this point, the program is so thoroughly a part of the company that even though there had been some downturn in profits during the last few years, the company has accepted more students.

In most of the other companies that participate, there is likely a similar difference between perceptions of the CEO and the line supervisors. Management sees the program as primarily an altruistic response to the needs of the community, whereas the company coordinator or supervisors who work directly with the youth recognize the benefits that are being obtained from their work.

OTHER BENEFITS

Students remain the most direct beneficiaries of the program, but teachers in the off-campus classroom also reap benefits, including high levels of reported teacher satisfaction and professional development. They are more independent and have smaller classes than the regular high school. Their contact with business, and their experiences with curriculum development serve as important professional development activities. Some of these benefits to the school system as this new knowledge is incorporated into the larger school settings.

VIII. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS

The Off Campus Work/Study Program in St. Louis is a mature, established program. It is in many ways a model for developing school/business partnership programs under the aegis of vocational education--a sector generally overlooked as a base for partnerships amid expanded involvement of the private sector in education.

The program has many strengths, but also some limitations. In this final section of the profile, we summarize by highlighting the program's strengths and limitations, and the implications of those factors for the design and management of other programs.

The following are strengths of the Off Campus Work/Study Program:

- It has strong, committed and stable direction and management;
- It has had enduring participation of companies, and continuous participation and involvement of work supervisors in some cases over many years;
- The program is strictly run, and the teachers and students are carefully monitored; at the same time, the programs are quite autonomous, allowing the teachers to be innovative and to generate excitement and close relationships with students;
- This program provides extra attention to its participants; schools are often ill-equipped and too short-staffed to provide the necessary guidance that students need to plan their futures;
- It allows students to test themselves in a new environment, while receiving guidance and support. Some students are not ready, and consequently leave the program to return to the regular school environment; and
- The structure of the program works because it is agreeable to both school people and industry people; each has its responsibility and does not encroach upon the other. Sharing of responsibility is a major lesson from the program.

Many of these strengths are a reflection of the maturity and stability of the program. But there are also problems related to being too rooted in the past. Some of the limitations of the program are its slowness to change and adapt to a new environment, particularly one which has been affected by desegregation orders. For example:

- o The program continues to rely on old linkages and methods of recruitment;
- o It operates separately from other resources when it could capitalize on them. For example, the current initiatives of the school district to recruit private sector involvement in the schools could be coordinated with this program; in this regard, issues within the organization of the school district may inhibit such cooperation;
- o Public relations for the program within the St. Louis area are poor. For some reason, the program is better known outside of the area than within it. Improved public relations may improve recruiting efforts; and
- o The demography of the student population has changed, but the program has not adapted to serve a more disadvantaged population. The private sector is typically reluctant to hire more at-risk youth, but the structure of the program has not changed to better prepare such youth for the world of work. For example, it could design a preparatory program for younger students who would then be eligible in their senior year. Otherwise, recruitment problems will continue. Peter Rein is justifiably concerned that increased graduation requirements will decrease the number of eligible students. In order for this useful program to survive, program modifications may be in order.

The St. Louis experience demonstrates that good management, autonomy and careful division of labor can produce a stable and enduring program, one that provides important opportunities and benefits to disadvantaged youth at a crossroads in their lives. But programs must adapt and change, or they will not produce their greatest outcomes.

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

New Horizons
Richmond, Virginia

by Phyllis Snyder

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CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. CONTEXT AND HISTORY 3

III. PROGRAM STRUCTURE 7

IV. KEY FEATURES AND OPERATION OF THE PROGRAM 11

V. NATURE OF PARTICIPATING YOUTH 15

VI. COSTS 19

VII. OUTCOMES 21

VIII. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS . . 25

I. INTRODUCTION

New Horizons, a Partnership Project located in Richmond, Virginia, is a Private Industry Council-based program to prepare 11th and 12th grade economically disadvantaged youth for the world of work. The program's primary goal is to enable the youth to obtain employment or to continue their education after high school graduation. Program components include a combination of paid employment, remediation and life skills classes and careful on-the-job supervision.

New Horizons, which has been in existence since 1980, serves 50 to 70 high school youth annually. The target population is students who have completed the sophomore year of high school, have attended school a minimum of 80 percent of the time, have attained a "C" average, and meet the income eligibility requirements of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Funding to launch the program came from The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation. Although the project has remained small and relatively unheralded in its home environment, it has been frequently visited by outsiders and widely replicated throughout the country. Its key features include the following:

- A youth participates for 24 months, including two summers and two school years;
- During the two summers, program offerings include basic skills and employability classes during the morning and employment in the afternoon at a job students continue to hold for the duration of the program;
- During the two school years, students attend one life skills class every day after completing their academic classes at one of Richmond's three high schools and prior to leaving for work;
- Curricula for the classes are well-developed and include both remediation and life skills preparation;
- The pupil/teacher ratio is low, allowing teachers and supervisors to provide individual attention to participants;
- The program involves the collaboration and participation of several organizations: the PIC, member organizations, the school district and a local university; and

- The program has hired and retained a committed core staff.

This profile describes the program's goals, origins, context, structure, key features and outcomes, emphasizing factors that strengthen or weaken the program. Information for the case study was gathered by a two-member research team during three days of both focused and unstructured interviews, on-site observations and review of documentary materials during the spring of 1985.

II. CONTEXT AND HISTORY

ORIGINS

Planning for the New Horizons program began in the late 1970s, and when its first students enrolled in 1980, it was a new effort for Richmond--one that did not build on an existing program. The program was planned by the Private Industry Council Director, Frances Rosi, with substantial assistance from Ruby Martin, a lawyer who was then associated with Youthwork, a nonprofit corporation established to help implement the Youth Employment Act of 1977.

Martin had visited and been impressed by the Success on the Move program in Oakland, a work/education program initiated by the Kaiser Corporation to assist disadvantaged youth. When Martin received a planning grant from The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation to expand the model and replicate the Kaiser program throughout the country, her home city of Richmond became the site of the first replication. However, the involvement of the new Private Industry Council (PIC) broadened the collaboration to many businesses rather than one, and faculty from Virginia Commonwealth University were involved in planning the curriculum.

GOALS

The primary goal of New Horizons was and continues to be to help youth make a successful transition from school to work. The program was also designed to harmonize with other goals of the schools and businesses that play significant roles in the program. The conflict for primacy among different priorities has created problems for the program that will be discussed in detail at a later point.

The New Horizons' brochure emphasizes business' role in shaping program goals: "... a unique work/study undertaking designed by Richmond businessmen to provide year-round employment for Richmond-area high school students while training them to find and hold jobs."

The program does not seek to teach students specific skills required for specific jobs but, rather, the general skills and appropriate attitudes required to enter and function in the workplace. According to the program's administrators, many participants come from homes where neither parent works; therefore, they may never have been exposed to a model of appropriate work behavior.

During the summer classes, New Horizons seeks to strengthen the students' education in computation, reading and writing. The program also seeks to make the students understand the importance of improving these basic skills in order to obtain and keep a job or to continue their education.

IMPLEMENTATION

Business Role

Members of the Private Industry Council were involved in the planning and design of New Horizons in order to ensure that it would address business' perceived needs and be taken seriously by the business community. Galen DeGraff, the Human Resources Director of a large printing company in Richmond and a member of the PIC, took charge of the PIC Training Committee that planned New Horizons. According to his account, the planners were able to obtain job commitments from the private sector because the chairman of the PIC Board, William Zimmer, chief executive officer of A. H. Robins at that time, was able to wield clout within the community sufficient to convince other business executives to commit jobs to New Horizons students. Funds were available under CETA to start the program's operation and business was asked to make a relatively small contribution of jobs.

Business originally agreed to participate in the program largely out of a sense of civic responsibility. The rate of teenage unemployment was high at the time the program began, up to 20 percent in some sections of the city. Also, since the schools had been losing population, the business community may have felt the need to do something to help enhance the public schools' reputation. Participation in the development of New Horizons stemmed from a growing perception on the part of the executives of local companies that they had a responsibility to assist the Richmond schools, because of the importance of the schools to the quality of life in their city. New Horizons gave business the opportunity to respond to the schools' needs through a vehicle that promised easy and responsive operation.

The goals of those business people who were involved in planning and implementing the program initially were to create a program that would:

- Provide better workers for local business.
- Diminish the difficulty business had previously experienced in dealing with the public sector,
- Be organized according to business' criteria, and
- Produce a "viable product," according to Dan Polk, Vice President of the Sovran Bank and a PIC

> member involved in New Horizons from the beginning.

The program's literature emphasizes how business benefits from its participation in New Horizons. The following benefits are highlighted: better entry-level employees, no-cost training, the ability to select employees, lack of red tape, employer input and no wasteful spending. The directors of the program define their primary goal as preparing students for private sector jobs, a goal congruent with the needs of Richmond's businesses.

School District Role

A significant aspect of the planning process was that no one from the school district appears to have played a key role in shaping the program. It was a project developed by the PIC, local business and Ruby Martin. School personnel were enlisted, and they cooperated; however, the school has not been the primary focus of the partnership or the primary administrative body. The relationship with the school system has remained cooperative. The Director of Guidance Services, Ellen Chewning, has been a strong supporter and advocate since program inception.

Although the Richmond School District had operated other programs that included work components, such as cooperative education and distributive education, local businesses did not regard them highly. Furthermore, the community's confidence in the schools had been lessening as changes took place following desegregation. The school population had become increasingly black as white families moved out of the city and put their children in private schools.

III. PROGRAM STRUCTURE

MANAGEMENT

Although New Horizons has a full-time staff, the several organizations involved in the operation of the program also play specific roles. This section describes how each organization contributes to the program.

New Horizons is administered in the offices of the Richmond Private Industry Council. It has a separate staff that is housed in PIC offices, uses PIC stationery, and consults regularly with the director of the PIC. Other participating organizations in the partnership are the private businesses that hire the New Horizons students; Virginia Commonwealth University, whose faculty designed the curriculum; J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College which houses the summer program; and the Richmond Public School District, which provides teachers of the New Horizons courses both during the summer and the school year.

New Horizons has two full-time staff members responsible for operating the program--Jona McKee, the director, and Lisa Mahlandt, the education coordinator. McKee has been with the program since its inception and has developed a good relationship with the business community as well as with the schools. The small program size enables him to get to know each participant well; the close relationship helps him to choose placements that are appropriate and also to check that the youth continue to do their school work once they're working. Mahlandt joined New Horizons in 1985. In addition to her responsibility for the educational aspect of the program, she also drives several students to work each day because they cannot get there by public transportation or school van.

The teachers, of whom there are generally two at each of the three high schools, assist in the development and revision of the curricula for both school-year and summer classes. Several of the teachers have been part of New Horizons since it began, and they help to promote the program in the schools. Ellen Chewning has helped work out necessary arrangements with the school district.

Business Role

Business continues to be the source of jobs and of funding for youth salaries. New Horizons is a program that makes it easy for business to do something for the community. In the words of one of the employment coordinators at Sovran Bank, "New Horizons is a convenient way to do something for the community because it has a buffer, control and follow-up."

New Horizons asks business to contribute jobs, to pay the students filling the jobs, and to provide some released time for supervisors to train, monitor and evaluate students. The students sent to businesses are generally eager to learn and ready to take on the responsibilities that the company defines. When the rare problem arises, the company supervisor or coordinator, who serves as the contact person at the business, calls McKee immediately.

A core group of businesses has been involved since the inception of the program; each business generally hires between three and six students per year. Prominent among them are the Sovran Bank, United Virginia Bank and Blue Cross. Of the 17 businesses employing youth in the 1984-1985 school year, approximately half have been involved since the first year. Recruitment of new businesses is done by the PIC director with McKee. Turnover of participating businesses has resulted from economic problems, inappropriate job requirements or inappropriate hours.

Businesses' only role in the continuing operation of the program is through the hiring of students and the evaluation of their work by supervisors. There is no regular meeting of the CEOs of the companies involved and there does not seem to be a vehicle for them to collectively appraise or reevaluate their participation in the program. Corporate dissatisfaction is expressed by dropping out of the program. Program administrators consult with the teachers, with the director of the PIC, and with Frances Rosi and Ruby Martin who have used the Richmond program as a model for developing a network of Partnership Projects throughout the country. Yet, there does not appear to be anyone within the Richmond business community who advises the director and his assistant on the continuing development and operation of the program.

Despite the substantial contribution of business at the outset, and continued supervision and job development through the PIC, no oversight body was built into the structure to provide for continuing involvement of the private sector. The perception, particularly by CEOs, that their company's contribution consisted solely of jobs and supervisors' time has continued to characterize the program and may, in fact, have been an impediment to its growth.

School District Role

The Richmond School District supplies both students and teachers for the program. Fifty-nine percent of Richmond's students are eligible for free or reduced price lunch, and 88 percent of the school population is black. In the high schools, the percentage increases to over 90 percent since it is at that point that many white parents place their children in private schools. About half of public high school graduates plan to continue their formal education.

Business perception of the graduates of the Richmond School District is that they receive adequate education; the supervisors we questioned said they hired most of their new employees, particularly for entry-level jobs, from the schools. However, the business community believes, as do school administrators to whom we spoke, that the academic preparation of students in the schools is not as strong as it once was. Even the cooperative education program is having trouble finding enough qualified students to fill available slots.

IV. KEY FEATURES AND OPERATION OF THE PROGRAM

The New Horizons 24-month program encompasses two summers and the last two years of the student's high school career. A few students are accepted for senior year only. Once a student is accepted into the program, he/she begins to work individually with a New Horizons teacher to prepare to interview for summer jobs toward the end of the sophomore year. Some students are still unprepared to begin working, so job interviewing and placement continues during the first month of the summer program between the sophomore and junior years. During the summer, students attend classes four mornings a week for eight weeks at J. Sargeant Reynolds Junior College and work in the afternoon. During the school year, the students take three regular courses, attend a special New Horizons class during fourth period, and then work for four hours each day of the week at the job they began during the first summer.

Instructional Component of the Program

The instructional component was designed to achieve several goals:

- To prepare the students for the world of work;
- To strengthen their basic competencies; and
- To provide certain life skills.

The curriculum was originally developed by Dr. Thomas Hephner of Virginia Commonwealth University. As the program evolved, classroom teachers at each of the high schools saw areas where students needed help--based on classroom work or their observation of students at the workplace--and developed new units of the curriculum.

During the summer, classes are conducted in the morning. The teachers focus on improving speaking and listening skills, increasing developmental competencies in reading and writing, strengthening mathematic abilities and skills, and teaching the youth to apply problem-solving skills to personal, social and career decisions in their lives. Training in computer skills was introduced during the 1984 summer program.

The school year curriculum for the fourth period New Horizons class includes topics such as: the five steps to finding a job, budgeting, employee rights, how to file income tax forms, assertive behavior and consumer rights. Students also spend time discussing evaluations they received on the job and developing strategies for improving in areas of weakness.

When the program began, little attention was paid to developing "employability skills" such as interviewing, answering the telephone and appropriate office behavior. However, in their reports to teachers, supervisors consistently requested that students learn to speak up and to be more assertive. According to Ellen Chewning, director of Guidance Services, students were so weak in some of these skills that "Jona (the director) took them individually and polished them" during the first year. In response to this need, the curriculum has been revised to emphasize development of students' speaking skills and to enhance their "presence". Students prepare many oral presentations for their class in order to become more comfortable with public speaking. The schools give students academic credit for the work experience; 50 percent of the grade is determined by academic performance and 50 percent by job performance as reflected in the evaluations.

The educational component has not remained static. The curriculum has been modified to address comments made by supervisors and common problems experienced by students on the job. In addition, as job placements changed from the retail sector to the service sector, and as the jobs themselves became primarily secretarial, typing and other skills required for those jobs were added to the curriculum. Another important change from the early years of the program (when the school year class was offered only after school) was the incorporation of the class into the school day so that all students are now able to attend.

Work Experience

Work experience is an essential component of the program and the "carrot" that encourages most students to apply. Although jobs are developed by the New Horizons staff and most jobs have been committed to the program since its inception, several students go out to interview for each job as they would in the labor market; the final hiring decision is made by the employer. The process of matching potential student employees with available jobs is carried out by the two administrators. The businesses are asked what their requirements are and every attempt is made to find students who offer at least some of the skills required. Since the two administrators do seem to know their students well, they are able to match students to appropriate positions.

Work supervisors either volunteer to work with program students or are carefully chosen by the coordinator at the company. Those interviewed for this assessment were pleased to have the opportunity to supervise students and commented favorably on their enthusiasm and hard work. Although some supervisors claimed that other entry-level employees performed better when they began the job, they said the students' learning curve was short and sharp. Very soon, within six weeks to three months, the students were as productive as other entry-level employees. The relationship between youth and supervisors appeared to be warm but businesslike and did not usually extend beyond the workplace. Supervisors interviewed by P/PV referred to discussions with youth about their current jobs as well as future career plans during the time they were at work.

The youth work 20 hours a week during the school year and are not allowed to work in the afternoon if they have not attended classes in the morning. Students are generally paid minimum wage, though in some companies students have been given raises as they gained experience. However, even those who have received a raise are paid at a far lower hourly rate than full-time entry-level workers hired by the company.

Some supervisors acknowledged the temptation to assign students exclusively to clean-up work, such as accumulated filing or other tasks that no one else wants to do. However, the evaluation form requires that supervisors list the tasks assigned and the skills learned to remind them that students should be learning at the same time that they are working. In addition, New Horizons teachers frequently observe work sites and are in contact with supervisors to ensure that students are performing their work and learning new skills.

Training of Supervisors

New Horizons runs an annual training meeting for supervisors at one of the banks. Experienced supervisors have an opportunity to share their experiences; new ones receive an orientation to their responsibilities as well as a New Horizons booklet describing their role in the program. In addition to working directly with students, a supervisor's only other responsibility is to fill out the evaluation form. Initiative and feedback from supervisors is encouraged by the program administrators; a supervisor who was dissatisfied with the student evaluation form provided a revised form and letter that is now the official form. Supervisors interviewed at several firms commented that New Horizons required far less paperwork than did other similar programs and did not demand much extra time from them.

V. NATURE OF PARTICIPATING YOUTH

TARGET POPULATION

The target population for this program is JTPA-eligible students who are doing reasonably well in school (not less than a "C" average) and have a pattern of regular school attendance. According to Jona McKee, New Horizons does not accept high-risk youth because the program does not have the resources or capability to provide enough remediation or counseling to make such students work-ready. Nor, he feels, would private sector employers be willing to hire such students. Despite the relative success of students accepted for New Horizons, measured by retention in school and passing grades, the program's director believes that they remain at risk of dropping out of school or of joining the unemployed after graduation. Many of the students in the program are in the general track at their high schools, since they did not meet requirements for the college preparatory or the commercial track. The majority would graduate from high school without sufficient preparation either to obtain a well-paying job with opportunity for advancement or to continue their education.

RECRUITMENT

New Horizons serves between 50 and 70 students each year. McKee says that a major reason for the program's inability to grow and serve large numbers of youth is the rigidity of JTPA income-eligibility requirements; many students who fit other targeting criteria and whose family income qualifies them for reduced or free lunch still do not meet the JTPA eligibility requirements.

During the first four years of the program, over 95 percent of the participants were JTPA-eligible. The administrators of the program have begun working with the school district in an attempt to use the school district's in-kind contribution, calculated at $766 per student per term, to justify inclusion of a percentage of students who do not meet the JTPA standards. Richmond has many high school students who are poor and disadvantaged but whose family incomes are slightly above JTPA levels. If the limit could be stretched, they could be included in the program. In an attempt to estimate the number of students who might qualify for 1985-86 program at a slightly higher eligibility level, it was determined that a total of 721 10th graders qualified for free or reduced-price lunches.

However, examination of the recruiting process indicates that difficulties in recruiting do not result exclusively from JTPA limitations. The guidance counselors who are responsible for recruitment have many other responsibilities; they appear to make perfunctory announcements to the student body and follow up more intensively with a small sample. The schools have not been saturated with information; many students only hear about the program from friends or family members who may have participated. According to James Bynum, a New Horizons instructor, "Sometimes it seems to be the best kept secret in the Richmond school system."

Another teacher, who had been teaching for several years before she became a member of the New Horizons faculty, had never heard about the program until she was asked to participate. When we asked to see recruitment materials, by which we meant materials left in the school to publicize the program, the only piece of information available was a three-page description attached to a sample application form given to guidance counselors. There were no posters or fliers that would call students' attention to the program.

An additional constraint on recruitment has been the competition for both businesses and students between New Horizons and cooperative and distributive education programs run by the Richmond School District. New Horizons has had an edge over these programs because of its acceptability to many firms usually unwilling to accept high school students. Both the program's access to business and the concern that New Horizons might be attracting students eligible for other programs had created tension between New Horizons and the school district programs. During the fall of 1984, an agreement was worked out by the director of vocational and adult education, the director of the PIC and the supervisor of guidance services. It stipulates that by February 15th of each year counselors will give New Horizons staff a list of all the 10th-grade students who have a grade point average of 2.0 or above and who appear to be economically disadvantaged. It also provided that New Horizons would not attempt to recruit students who put business classes on their tentative schedules and who would be good candidates for the cooperative education program. In addition, it was agreed that students accepted into the New Horizons program would be terminated when it was determined by both the student and the counselor that the student's course schedule would no longer permit him/her to participate or that the student should pursue a sequence of occupational preparation courses and enter into the cooperative education program within the school.

Since this agreement was signed only recently, it is impossible to evaluate how successful it will be in providing a more comfortable relationship between New Horizons and the other programs. It is also hard to predict whether settling this issue will encourage a more aggressive and open recruitment process in the schools.

CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH

Over 95 percent of New Horizons students are black, as are the teachers in the program. Approximately two-thirds of the youth are female. All are age 16 and 17, and are in the 11th and 12th grades. When P/PV staff questioned the teachers, the students and the program administrators about the preponderance of females in the program, they suggested several explanations. First, they felt it was easier for boys to find jobs on their own. Second, many of the jobs offered by the program are clerical jobs that would be more likely to appeal to females. Even in companies where both males and females are hired, males were often assigned to stereotypically male entry-level positions, those demanding physical strength or those in mail rooms. Third, since the program has not been widely advertised, much of the recruiting is by word-of-mouth, and this tends to perpetuate the characteristics of current participants.

Once students are accepted, both administrators are extremely vigilant and check report cards each quarter to ensure that youths' grade point averages remain at or above the 2.0 level during the course of the program. If students do not maintain this average, they are given several warnings before they are dropped from the program.

VI. COSTS

The primary source of funding for the 1984-1985 program was $90,000 in JTPA money administered by the PIC. These funds are used to pay the yearly salaries of the administrative staff, the summer salaries of the teachers and some transportation costs. During the first two weeks on the job, students are given bus fare that they are expected to pay back from their wages. Since a number of jobs are located outside the city and are difficult to reach, the PIC funding also pays for a van to transport students.

Fifteen thousand dollars, contributed by the Reynolds Company in lieu of jobs, is used to subsidize jobs in companies that would not or could not pay student wages; $5,000 is funneled to the program from the Clark Foundation through Rosi and Martin for publicity and for entertaining the many visitors who come to see the Partnership Program.

Most student wages are covered by the employer. Companies also must subsidize the costs of supervision.

The Richmond School District provides classroom space and pays teachers' salaries during the winter when the New Horizons class is offered for credit within the high schools.

VII. OUTCOMES

OUTCOMES FOR YOUTH

An important benefit of the program is the students' recognition that they can work successfully in corporate environments that they might have been reluctant to enter or have been prevented from entering without the New Horizons experience. Even if they are not hired by the company at the conclusion of the program, the youth are encouraged to return and apply for jobs at some later date. In the words of one of the teachers, they had gained "a head start" on the working world.

Meeting the challenge of a regular job also produces a change in the youths' bearing and poise. They responded clearly and thoughtfully to interview questions after 10 months in the program, despite the fact that when they initially began working, supervisors and teachers reported that they had problems communicating. Related to this is the sense of success that many of these students gained from being appreciated and welcomed within working environments.

Participants also benefit from close and continuing contact with a variety of adults, administrators, teachers and supervisors who are interested in their progress and future plans. The linkage between the life skills classes and the job helps heighten the value of school and reduces the chance of dropping out. In addition, the youths' recognition of the limits of entry-level jobs has shown many of them the need to gain further education to obtain more interesting jobs and to allow them to advance within a company.

The program's retention rate has been good and has remained constant since the program began. The first year of the program there were 32 graduates, the second year, 42; the third year, 40; the fourth year, 34; and the fifth year, 36 graduates. Generally, the summer program begins with 60-70 students, of whom approximately 60 percent are seniors. Seventy-two students began the program during the 1984-85 academic year and 64 completed the year, an attrition rate of 11 percent.

The New Horizons project maintains contact with its graduates by mail and then follow-up telephone calls to determine how they are doing one, two and three years out of the program. The 1985 survey of the 148 graduates from the first four years had a 92 percent response rate and revealed the following information:

- 54 percent were attending college;
- 40 percent were employed;

o 17 percent were working and attending college.

OUTCOMES FOR BUSINESS

New Horizons provides numerous economic benefits to business. After graduation, many of the students remain at the businesses to take full-time jobs; they are productive immediately because they have been trained as part of the New Horizons internship. In addition, very soon after students begin working, supervisors comment that their work is equal to or better than that of other entry-level employees, yet their salaries are generally lower than those paid to regular workers. Supervisors at the banks described the students as better quality than the typical walk-in applicant, though this opinion was not shared by supervisors at other businesses.

Yet executives at companies employing students, often those in decision-making positions, are frequently unaware of the extent of New Horizons' economic benefits. At the time that the program was developed, teenage unemployment was high and many of the CEOs within the Richmond community saw a need for this kind of program. Many of the jobs were initially given as a contribution in response to solicitation by peers in business. However, for those supervisors responsible for working directly with students, it was an opportunity to obtain trainable workers who could do productive work for less than usual wages. As the program progressed, supervisors recognized the value of students' work. However, we found no instances where a systematic study was done within a company to demonstrate the contribution the students were currently making or to count the number of students who had been trained in the program and then gone on to join the permanent work force at the company. The lack of quantification, of looking at the "bottom line", may reflect management's attitude toward participation in New Horizons. Participation constitutes giving and there is generally no expectation of obtaining a return. Although the productivity of the students has generally made this program more a benefit to the companies than a contribution by them, this recognition has not always been communicated by the supervisors to the top executives.

The first year of the program, 35 companies hired students; up to 40 companies have participated since the program began. Twenty firms hired students during the 1984-85 school year; several banks hired five students each, as did VEPCO and Reynolds Metals Company.

OUTCOMES FOR SCHOOLS

Like business, the schools have not assessed the outcomes and benefits of New Horizons since the district does not see it as its program. Our investigation suggests that the program has given the school district better visibility and a more positive image within the community. Yet, the curriculum developed by New Horizons has not had wider use within the high schools.

Teachers who participate in the program gain from the opportunity it offers them to develop curricula, to work cooperatively with other teachers and to gain direct contact with businesses. The teachers, perhaps even more than the supervisors on the job, serve as mentors and role models for the students. The low pupil/teacher ratio in the New Horizons class allows teachers to enhance their roles and to give the students more intensive attention than they would be able to in the standard classroom.

VIII. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS

New Horizons is a small, well-managed program that has served as a model for a network of programs throughout the country. It provides participants with a great deal of attention and access to jobs that many would be unable to attain on their own. It serves business by supplying well-trained youth and requiring only a little paperwork from business in return. It has worked successfully with the school district to integrate the special New Horizons class into the school day.

Among the program's strengths are:

- The administrator's responsiveness to the changing educational needs of the students;
- Maintenance of a low attrition rate;
- The ability to place students in appropriate jobs; and
- Tracking of a high percentage of program graduates over several years.

Although New Horizons has performed well at its current scale of operation, we question its reluctance to expand. It appears that there are many more youth in Richmond who would benefit from participation in this type of program. There are opportunities for growth that the staff has not chosen to pursue. For example:

- New Horizons has relied primarily on large businesses. Although small businesses are harder to reach, job growth is occurring at a greater rate in small firms. In addition, students often have the opportunity to try more varied tasks in small businesses.
- Despite the limitations of JTPA funding, New Horizons' staff has not tried other funding sources. New Horizons' solid reputation could assist fundraising efforts and allow it to obtain additional staff to serve a larger population.
- There is no evidence of a vigorous effort by staff to bolster the recruitment process and reach and serve more students, both those whose grades may fall below the academic requirements and those whose family income is slightly above the eligibility limits.
- To recruit business, the staff has prepared a videotape and brochures to help explain and sell the program; yet, New Horizons is better known nationally than it is within

Richmond. The current staff may be too busy running the program to do the necessary publicity and recruitment. Expansion requires more staff and better use of participating business to assist in the recruitment.

- Business's role in program operation is very small. The program could benefit from increased business involvement and responsibility.

New Horizons embodies many aspects of successful partnerships between school and business. Its next challenge may be to extend the program to a larger population without diminishing its quality.

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A Profile of:

Teen Opportunities Promote Success (TOPS) Program Birmingham, Alabama

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CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. CONTEXT AND HISTORY 3

III. PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND ROLES 7

IV. KEY PROGRAM FEATURES 9

V. NATURE OF YOUTH 15

VI. COSTS 19

VII. OUTCOMES 21

VIII. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS . . 25

I. INTRODUCTION

Teen Opportunities Promote Success (TOPS) is a project operated by the Birmingham Area Alliance of Business (BAAB) for economically disadvantaged high school seniors. It offers a combination of paid employment and life skills classes designed to prepare youth to obtain a job or to seek additional education or training after high school. The program operates year round and includes a six-week Preparatory Training Program (PTP) during the spring, which is mandatory for all high school juniors accepted into the program. Participants work during the summer or the school year and attend special classes that teach them career awareness, job search skills and appropriate work behavior.

TOPS, which has been in existence since 1981, is a Partnership Project, one of the first replications of the New Horizons program in Richmond, Virginia. The target population is students who have completed the junior year of high school, have been present at school a minimum of 80 percent of the time and have maintained at least a "C" average. At least 80 percent of TOPS enrollees must meet the income eligibility requirements of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). The number of students participating in the summer program has almost tripled from 40 the first year to 112 in the fourth year; the school-year component has doubled from 20 students the first year to 44 in the fourth year.

Funding for the program comes primarily from the Birmingham Private Industry Council, the lead JTPA agency in the city. Contributions from private sector firms in the city currently cover about 20 percent of the budget. TOPS and New Horizons are both viewed as cornerstones of the national network of Partnership Projects, a group of school/business partnerships organized with initial funding from The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and technical assistance from Martin & Rosi of Richmond.

TOPS is an alternative work/study program serving disadvantaged youth in the year prior to their entry into the labor force or higher education. Its key features include the following:

- It serves economically disadvantaged high school seniors, many of whom have never worked before.

- It has a separate summer and year-round program, thereby serving a larger number of youth than it could with a single cohort. The summer program includes 12 hours of classes and 16 to 20 hours of work during an eight-week period. During the school year, students attend TOPS classes one evening a week for three hours during a 28-week period and work for approximately 15 hours a week.

- It places youth in paid jobs in a variety of settings, including a large number of small and medium-sized businesses, using Targeted Jobs Tax Credits (TJTC) as an incentive for businesses to employ youth.

- It is operated by a nonprofit business organization headed by an experienced director, staffed by three professionals and a secretary and organized specifically to run TOPS.

- It has successfully tapped the talents and services of the board, primarily the members of the executive committee, to assist in job development, fundraising and budget preparation, and increasing the range of the program's contacts and its visibility in the business community.

- It operates its educational component separately from the school district but hires Birmingham public school teachers to deliver the curriculum and works with guidance counselors at each of the 13 high schools to assist in recruitment of students.

- It took an established partnership model and successfully adapted it to the specific needs of the Birmingham community.

This profile describes the program's goals, origins, context, structure, key features and outcomes. Particular attention is given to the factors that led to success. Information for this profile was gathered during a total of five days of both focused and unstructured interviews, observations and review of documentary materials. A three-day visit was made by two people during the summer of 1985, and a two-day visit by one person during December of 1985.

II. CONTEXT AND HISTORY

ENVIRONMENT

During the late 1970s, Birmingham's schools experienced the substantial population loss characteristic of many large urban school districts. However, the needs of students who remained in the schools were increasing and little was being done to help them make the transition to the world of work. Youth unemployment in Birmingham was high, 5 to 8 percent above the national average, and CETA programs had done little to solve the problem.

In 1980, Ruby Martin came to Birmingham to promote replication of the recently developed business/school partnership that she had helped to launch in Richmond. Martin found a receptive audience in a business community that had begun to recognize the need to take a more active role in addressing the economic and educational needs of the community's youth. Many of the business leaders who listened to Martin had been active in the local chapter of the National Alliance of Business (NAB), which at that time lacked strong, effective programs. Since the youth program outlined by Martin required a locally incorporated body, the key actors involved in NAB reconstituted themselves into the Birmingham Area Alliance of Business (BAAB), whose sole mission was to oversee the development of what became TOPS. BAAB was established to "furnish organizational and operations management and program direction for projects to develop training and employment opportunities in the private sector for economically disadvantaged and marginally skilled persons."

GOALS

Those who listened and responded to the need for a new employment program for youth in Birmingham shared similar goals. Faced by a 25 percent youth unemployment rate, both business people and school personnel welcomed a program that would take youth who were unable to "make it" on their own after graduation and give them the experience and the confidence to obtain a job or seek further training. Equally important to the program's originators was the possibility of gaining access to corporate environments that would normally be closed to the primarily black, economically disadvantaged youth who comprised the program's population, and to demonstrate to the youth that they could succeed in finding and retaining jobs there.

For businesses, the program represented a means to achieve several goals at once. They could use their human resources and contribute to the community in a visible way with the hope of some short-term gains in the form of trained workers, and long-term gains in the form of improved image and environment for both the school district and the city. For the school district, involvement in a program of this type promised an opportunity to better serve many of the students who did not qualify for existing cooperative education programs as well as to strengthen their ties to the business community. More than half of Birmingham's students are enrolled in vocational education programs, but only a small percentage actually have the opportunity to combine their training with work experience while in school.

For both sectors, this program represented an opportunity to work together through a neutral and businesslike organization which, by serving disadvantaged youth, would ultimately meet the goal of improving Birmingham. A program that combined work experience with classes specifically focused on employability training had the potential to permit both the business and educational communities to address current problems and to benefit equally from the solution.

BUSINESS ROLE IN PROGRAM START-UP

From the beginning, TOPS was organized and implemented from a business perspective. Leadership in the effort to form BAAB and hire operating staff was taken by the presidents of two of Birmingham's largest employers, Vulcan Materials and the Liberty National Life Insurance Company. BAAB was set up with a board of directors composed almost entirely of business people who sought to ensure that the difficulties business had experienced with school or government bureaucracies in prior employment programs would not be repeated.

Participation from business was at the level of CEO has entailed continuing responsibilities to TOPS. Resources of the board president's firm--such as printing, financial advice, and other forms of technical assistance--have come to be regarded as part of a president's commitment. In launching the TOPS program and placing it solely under the direction of the BAAB board, business attempted to ensure that it would retain control over the management and operation of the program, despite the fact that the bulk of funding comes from the Private Industry Council. Although daily management is handled by the director and her staff, board members are expected to play an active role in specific tasks during the year.

SCHOOL ROLE IN PROGRAM START-UP

Although the schools participated in planning and implementing the program, they play a subsidiary role. BAAB has made a distinct effort to operate autonomously, entirely separate from both the PIC and the school district.

At the time the TOPS program was being planned, the school district was continuing to lose students--some to surrounding districts, some to private schools--and the percentage of black students in the system had risen to 85 percent. Over half of all high school students were enrolled in vocational classes, but fewer than half of those students were able to obtain jobs through the cooperative education program. Also, the schools' access to Birmingham's largest corporations had been limited. Therefore, from the schools' perspective, the program that BAAB was proposing to implement could be seen as complementing and enlarging their ability to serve students who had managed to remain in school until their junior year, but who were ill-prepared either to work or to continue training or education after graduation.

The school district was represented in the planning process by Dr. Dorothy Chambers, currently the head of vocational programs. The superintendent of schools is a member of the board of BAAB.

III. PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND ROLES

Primary responsibility for operating TOPS and for coordinating the involvement of both schools and business rests with the staff of BAAB, which consists of an executive director, two other professionals and a secretary. Other key organizations involved in operations include the Birmingham School District and the businesses providing jobs for the students. These roles are described more fully below.

BAAB

The executive director, Marsha Ham, reports to a business board composed of 28 members. Although most board members are not involved in daily decisions about the operation of the program, the board plays a significant role through the provision of money, guidance and in-kind services. Efforts to raise funds and recruit new businesses are dependent on the board's contacts and loaned personnel. According to the director, the president and the five officers of BAAB who constitute the executive committee have most consistently provided necessary resources, in some cases meeting with her several times a week.

TOPS STAFF

Marsha Ham, who has been executive director since the program's founding, provides continuity and credibility to the program in both the educational and business communities. Her background as a vocational education teacher has provided her with knowledge of and entry into the Birmingham school system. She has worked well with her board, enlisting them in program expansion, and has taken advantage of the management training that members of the board have provided.

The other two professionals are newer to BAAB. Nina Lockard, training and public relations specialist, joined the organization in the spring of 1984, and is responsible for coordinating the recruitment of new businesses, organizing the Preparatory Training Program (PTP) sessions and producing the newsletter. She does some training of teaching staff and serves as a liaison between employers and the program. Her background is in marketing and public relations for the hotel industry, and she has worked to strengthen the business emphasis in some aspects of the classes, particularly PTP. Susan Raffield, program coordinator, joined the program in the fall of 1985, after teaching in the summer classes. She had also had extensive contact with the program in her prior role as a guidance counselor in one of Birmingham's high schools, where she had been involved in recruitment for TOPS. Her understanding of the weaknesses of the recruitment process within the schools and the need to publicize the program better should help to target her efforts. TOPS staff is responsible for completing the forms necessary for a firm to receive credit for TJTC, if the student whom the business hires is qualified.

SCHOOL DISTRICT

Key program actors from the Birmingham school district include guidance counselors, who coordinate the recruitment effort in individual schools. They are asked to notify potential participants when a presentation is to be made at a high school by BAAB staff. They supply applications to interested students, monitor their completion and return, and check the form certifying financial eligibility.

The school district also supplies teachers for the program; they are recruited by Marsha Ham based on recommendations by department heads. Since they receive separate salaries from BAAB for teaching, their relationship to TOPS is different from that of the guidance counselors. In addition to their classroom responsibilities, teachers also monitor students at work and handle questions or problems that arise. Several have taught since the first year, and seem to relish the small classes, the opportunity to teach as part of a team and the opportunity to work collaboratively both with fellow teachers and with business people.

BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Birmingham businesses supply the jobs for TOPS students and the supervisors to instruct and monitor those hired. The majority of the businesses hire one or two students only; during the summer of 1985, only six of the 74 businesses that hired TOPS students hired more than three. Primary hiring is done by big business, and TOPS promotion emphasizes the availability of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit program.

Business is also enlisted to help recruit new business collaborators through the Loaned Executive Program. Thus far, representation has been primarily from large businesses also involved in other forms of community service. Birmingham has no other large-scale youth employment effort that solicits jobs from the private sector. Cooperative education programs run by the school district target a different group of firms and have never placed students in the banks, insurance companies and large manufacturing firms that have hired TOPS students.

IV. KEY PROGRAM FEATURES

Although the TOPS program admits all participants in the spring of their junior year of high school, it serves them in two separate sequences during the summer and school year. The classes and work experience components in each sequence remain the same but, during the school-year program, they are spread over a longer period of time. According to the program's administrators, the two-tiered arrangement allows a greater number of youth to be served and draws upon a wider array of businesses, since it allows businesses to hire extra, temporary help during the period of greatest need. This section will describe the components of the program for both the summer and school-year programs, and the differences among them.

The primary components of the TOPS program are as follows:

- Preparatory Training Program (PTP)
- Job Fair
- Work Experience
- Classes

PREPARATORY TRAINING PROGRAM (PTP)

The PTP program was developed to address a weakness in the program structure identified during the first two program cycles. Prior to inclusion of PTP, the students began the TOPS program cycle with the Jobs Fair in May, when employers interviewed those students who had been admitted to the program and decided whom they wished to hire. Although students were given some preparation prior to the Job Fair, it became obvious to the program staff that most of the youth had no idea how to conduct themselves in interviews. Consequently, it was difficult for the business interviewers to gain a fair assessment of the youths' ability to fill the jobs.

The PTP program was introduced in the spring of 1984 for the first time, and included classes on interviewing, resume preparation and career planning; they were taught primarily by several teachers who also taught regular TOPS classes. Some teaching was also done by Nina Lockard, who is responsible for the Job Fair and the Loaned Executive program. She attempted to introduce a business perspective into skills preparation and to strengthen the link between the content of the classes and the requirements of the working world.

Students may cover some of the topics addressed by the PTP classes in high school, particularly if they take vocational classes. The entire school system has begun to move in the direction of earlier career preparation for students. However, the PTP classes seem to convey the information more effectively. According to the program's managers, there are several possible reasons:

- The classes are conducted at the campus of the University of Alabama at Birmingham, where the students are taken by bus after school. The campus location serves to heighten the importance of the instruction.
- The classes are followed quickly by the Job Fair, where instruction can be put to the test in real interviews.
- Class size is small, affording several benefits: students begin to know both the instructors and their classmates more intensively, students receive some special attention and staff can evaluate students and recommend them for appropriate private job interviews based on their abilities and interests.

JOB FAIR

The next step after students have completed PTP classes is the Job Fair. Held in late spring, the Job Fair brings together both existing employers and those who have been newly enlisted as part of the recruitment campaign staffed by loaned executives. TOPS staff select several students to interview for each available position; by bringing all the students and employers together, all interviewing can be accomplished on the same day. Employers rank youth interviewed and staff attempt to match their preferences as much as possible. Participants must compete for jobs as they would in a normal job-hunting situation.

Usually the students with the best records and presence at interviews are hired for summer jobs; the remaining youth are told they will be contacted in the early fall about jobs that will be available during the school year. The pattern in past years has been for roughly twice as many students to participate in the summer program as participate during the school year. More employers are willing to hire students during the summer when they are able to work more hours per day; many students prefer the summer program because they want to work during the summer and may find the combination of after-school work and an evening class too difficult during the school year. During the past two program years, the number of participants in each part has been as follows:

In 1983-84

- 191 students began PTP

- 173 students completed PTP
- 112 students were hired for summer jobs (96 completed)
- 54 students were hired for school-year jobs (48 completed)

In 1984-85

- 202 students began PTP
- 171 students completed PTP
- 106 students were hired for summer jobs (101 completed)
- 63 students were hired for school-year jobs (50 completed).

Since so much time elapses between the Job Fair in late spring and the school-year program, a few students are lost to the program in the intervening months. However, the format of the Fair has proven efficient and has served to focus attention on the program and the number of youth and businesses that participate.

ACADEMIC COMPONENT

During both the summer and school-year programs, students attend classes and work. Although a Birmingham public school, the Glen Iris Community School, houses the classes, and the teachers are hired from the school system, the classes are kept separate from high school in other ways. For most students, the class content is new, though some material may be covered in vocational classes. Students attend classes four mornings a week from 9 a.m. to noon during the summer, and one evening a week from 6 to 9 p.m. during the school year. Generally, the classes have between 20 and 25 students, and are taught by a team of two teachers who remain together during the entire program.

The curriculum emphasizes developing several types of skills:

- Employability skills, such as using standard English, that will assist youth to function better at the work place;

- Life skills, such as maintaining a checkbook and paying taxes, that will allow them to manage other aspects of their lives; and,

- Job-search skills, such as preparing a resume, that will prepare them to find a job on their own after high school.

The curriculum was originally developed for the program by a consultant from the University of Alabama, but it has been modified to address students' weaknesses by the teachers, many of whom have taught for several summers.

The introduction of a competency-based payment system by the Private Industry Council during the 1985 fiscal year required enumeration of each competency and specification of the methods of assessment. The teachers test students' mastery of specific tasks within each competency area and maintain records that are submitted to the PIC before a participant can be paid. In the future, admission to the program will depend on verification of an applicant's lack of competency in similar areas. TOPS staff have begun to use a checklist that allows them to check youths' weaknesses and thereby demonstrate their need for the program.

The classes have not been enthusiastically received by youth in prior years, despite a careful choice of teachers and curricular materials. Several steps have been taken to vary the pattern of the classes and to heighten students' interest. During the summer of 1985, more outside speakers were brought in; trips were scheduled to businesses during the school day and to plays in the evening. Speakers, some from businesses employing students, were chosen to present topics that emphasize the connection between the classroom and the outside world. One presentation addressed the appropriate use of standard English versus black English in the work setting. At the end of the summer, student ratings of classes were more enthusiastic; participants welcomed the variety.

Another change that has been made in the classroom portion of the program is to include regular counseling. Counseling was introduced into the program because of the number of problems that participating students faced both in their personal lives and at work. Although the relationship that develops between students and teachers is frequently strong, the teachers felt unsure of their ability to handle some student problems. Counselors meet weekly with each class; there is always a prepared topic for discussion as well as time for students to raise questions or problems of their own. Counselors also meet with teachers during staff meetings to discuss students' problems.

In both segments of the program, summer and year-round, strict attendance is required and students are not permitted to work if they do not attend classes. During the school year, participants are allowed no more than four absences; during the summer, three. Classes are conducted in the same public school during the school year as during the summer. According to one staff member, locating the school in a poor black neighborhood has been an obstacle to recruiting white students. In addition, the school is not centrally located nor accessible to public transportation, and most of the students appear to be dependent on having someone drive them to classes. This poses a particularly serious problem for school-year participants. They work for three hours after school and then must attend evening classes and complete their homework.

WORK COMPONENT

Nature of Jobs

It is the opportunity to gain work experience that attracts most students to the TOPS program; and it is the nature of the work experience that distinguishes TOPS from other types of job opportunities available to students of this age. According to the program's administrators, the atmosphere and environment of the jobs are as important as the jobs themselves. The TOPS experience is seen as a means "to gain entry into corporate America" for disadvantaged, primarily black youth whose opportunities for part-time employment would otherwise be limited to jobs in fast-food restaurants. Of the 10 largest employers in Birmingham in 1985, half employed TOPS students.

Since the students bring few skills to their jobs and are able to work only on a part-time basis, the jobs they can fill at large corporations are necessarily limited. Many positions require some secretarial skills and involve typing, filing, answering the telephone and, perhaps, some data entry on a computer. There are also a number of janitorial positions, demanding both strength and a willingness to perform physical labor, that have been traditionally assigned to the males, who represent about 40 percent of the program's participants. Such sex stereotyping weakens the program since it reinforces the youths' preconceived notions about appropriate jobs for men and women; and it limits recruitment because the predominance of secretarial positions encourages more women than men to apply.

Role of Supervisors

Often one person in a company takes responsibility for coordinating hiring and supervision of students, choosing supervisors and serving as a contact for problems or questions. In some companies, the actual supervisors attend the Job Fair and hire the students whom they will supervise. BAAB staff provide a one-hour orientation for supervisors at the beginning of the work period; the supervisors are then visited regularly by the teachers as part of their monitoring responsibilities. Supervisors also receive printed information listing the rules and regulations of the program and requirements for students; they must sign a letter of agreement acknowledging their responsibilities and also the students' rights under the program. They are informed of the program's strict attendance policy: if a student is dismissed from either work or classes, that action results in dismissal from the entire program. Most of the supervisors interviewed said they enjoyed the opportunity to train and monitor students in the business environment and often continued to participate year after year. They frequently expressed pleasure at the short time it took to turn the student into a productive worker. None seemed to gain formal recognition from their superiors for their participation. In many of the companies where P/PV researchers interviewed staff or observed youth at work, it appeared that supervisors trained and treated participants in large part like regular employees.

Recruitment of Business

When the TOPS program began, the leadership of BAAB took responsibility for locating a sufficient number of jobs for program participants. Since most of the board members came from big businesses within the city, the initial sources of employment were insurance companies, banks, the university and the medical center. Although such organizations continued to accept equal numbers of youth in subsequent years, they were generally unable to expand the number of slots. Also, because summer and school-year employment was needed, wider recruitment became necessary. General solicitations by TOPS yielded little. It became clear that a successful recruitment effort would have to build on the contacts and prestige of the board and be viewed as a "business to business" request. The TOPS staff, therefore, organized a six-week "Loaned Executive" recruitment campaign during the spring of 1983.

The campaign has continued to be an annual part of the program. Birmingham businesses contribute the time, generally of a middle-management executive, to call other businesses in the city and urge them to offer jobs to TOPS students. The executives are trained by the TOPS staff, provided with numerous materials, and urged to compete among themselves to obtain the most job commitments. The effort has succeeded in increasing the pool of jobs from 20 the first summer to 106 during the summer of 1985. However, recruitment remains slow. Positive recognition from TOPS employers has not resulted in requests for students from additional businesses.

Expansion of the program and the need to find more jobs will likely mean that greater effort will be placed on reaching the small and mid-size firms that have so far not fully participated in the program. Despite the costs to smaller businesses of training and absorbing the students, TOPS has attempted to recruit smaller businesses. They not only expand the source of jobs but also frequently offer youth more varied opportunities. There may be less formal training, but chances to learn on the job are often greater.

V. NATURE OF YOUTH

This section describes the youth TOPS targets, the process by which they are recruited, and the youth it actually serves.

Target Population

In defining the target population for the TOPS program, program planners adopted the criteria used in Richmond. They defined the target population as students who had maintained a "C" average in high school, had strong attendance records and were JTPA-eligible, but who lacked the skills and experience to obtain a job after graduation.

Some of the requirements were dictated by the nature of the program. Since the job is such an important aspect of TOPS, the program's administrators wanted students who were not in danger of failing and, therefore, of dropping out of the program, and students who could be counted on to show up regularly. By requiring JTPA eligibility, the program became eligible for funding from the Private Industry Council to cover operating expenses. Unlike the New Horizons program in Richmond, TOPS has not required JTPA eligibility from all youth, and has generally set the limit between 75 and 80 percent of participants. In part, staff has used the JTPA "window," which allows a percentage of the participants to exceed the income limits, and, in part, they have sought funding from participating corporations to allow greater flexibility. Another difference between the TOPS and Richmond models is that TOPS accepts students who are juniors rather than sophomores since the program is for one year only.

Recruitment of Participants

Recruitment has proven to be a far more difficult problem in Birmingham than in Richmond. This is primarily due to the number of schools where recruiting can take place. Birmingham has 13 high schools, all of which can supply students to the program. TOPS staff go to each of the schools to make presentations to the juniors, but because of the number of sites and their other job responsibilities, staff must rely on guidance counselors to alert students to the existence of the program and to do most of the follow-up, such as ensuring that students complete and submit applications. Guidance counselors generally have a wide range of competing responsibilities and program recruitment is often low on their list of priorities. BAAB's conscious and determined effort to operate TOPS as a business organization separate from the school district means that its influence and importance within the schools is lessened. However, since TOPS teachers are drawn from the city's high schools, they often bolster the recruitment effort in their own schools by increasing students' awareness of the program.

The standard recruitment presentation deliberately avoids any mention of economic disadvantage as a requirement; TOPS is not portrayed as a poverty effort and seeks to interest a broad mix of students. Income screening is not done until students have submitted their applications. According to the staff, the need to verify family income is one factor that has limited the number of white students who apply. White families reportedly object strongly to the questions about income.

The school presentation emphasizes the type of jobs that students can obtain through the program, since it is difficult for Birmingham youth to find jobs on their own. Despite its good placement record and national recognition, the TOPS program is still not well-known in the city; one of the tasks facing Susan Raffield in improving the recruitment process is to convince her contacts within high school guidance departments to publicize the program to their students. Only half the students who enroll in vocational classes in Birmingham's schools are able to obtain jobs; they should be a ready pool of applicants for the job opportunities offered through TOPS.

Characteristics of Youth

Of the students who enter the program, approximately 60 percent are female and, in the spring of 1985, 100 percent were black. In prior years, white participants had comprised between three and five percent. Currently, the percentage of Birmingham's population that is black is 55 percent; the percentage among school students is 85 percent. In addition to the income screening referred to above, the program's difficulty in attracting white students in at least the proportion they represent of the total school population may result from the greater number of job opportunities available to white students in Birmingham without the program's assistance. Also, according to several staff members and teachers, the location of the Glen Iris Community School where TOPS classes are held during both the summer and school-year portion of the program is considered dangerous; white parents hesitate to send their children there, particularly in the evening. A final factor may be that recruitment is done by word of mouth; students who have been in the program recommend it to their friends or siblings and, therefore, tend to perpetuate the major characteristics of prior years. A noticeable difference exists between students who are hired for the summer and school-year programs. The popularity of summer jobs is generally greater, and employers are usually able to obtain their first choice among the students. Thus, while economically disadvantaged (i.e., JTPA-eligible), those students hired in the summer are usually the more educationally advantaged of the eligible applicants.

Students interviewed by P/PV staff during the summer program were more articulate and more thoughtful about their future goals than were the youth interviewed during the school year. Of the 15 students questioned during the summer, approximately one-third planned to continue their education after high school; several expressed specific career goals. Due to the difficulty of obtaining summer jobs in Birmingham, students in academic courses may view the program as a source for good summer jobs. Since they are likely to present themselves well, their chances of being hired during the summer are strong. Although this policy may limit TOPS' ability to serve those youth who are most in need of what the program offers, many of the students in academic courses are also economically disadvantaged and, despite their professed desire to continue their education after high school, may need to combine work with postsecondary schooling and will derive benefit from the TOPS job experience.

VI. COSTS

The bulk of funding for the operation of BAAB comes from the Private Industry Council, the primary recipient of JTPA funding in Birmingham. In 1985-86, the $225,000 that BAAB received from the PIC constituted 82 percent of its budget. The remainder of the $275,760 budget was met by $50,000 in corporate donations from Birmingham businesses and $760 in interest income. Student wages are paid by the firms; if students are eligible for the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, the BAAB office will assist the hiring firm in taking advantage of the credit. In past years, one of the largest TOPS employers, Vulcan Materials, had also contributed funds to pay the wages of students employed by nonprofit organizations. According to budget calculations prepared by program staff, cost-per-participant for the 1985-86 program year was $658, one hundred dollars less than for the prior program year.

Business also assumes another cost of hiring a TOPS student: the loss of employee time to train and supervise youth. Although this may be recouped in part by the productivity of students' labor once the training has been completed, the small number of students hired by smaller businesses likely attests to the costs that training imposes. It may also reflect the fact that participants work only part time and may be difficult to integrate into the work force. However, supervisors at several businesses observed that, in some respects, the "costs" of a TOPS employee were less than those of other new entry-level employees. The youth had been prescreened and arrived with both positive attitudes and a work ethic that were reinforced by classes they attended while working.

BAAB's total budget in 1985-86 increased $25,000 over the previous year, an 11 percent increase; the proportion of funding from JTPA also increased from 72 percent to 82 percent. However, according to Marsha Ham, one of BAAB's current priorities is to increase funding from other sources; she spent a great deal of time during the fall of 1985 learning the techniques of corporate solicitation from some of her board members, and she has begun to apply them. The current performance-based contract poses payment problems for the program when youth are dropped due to poor attendance or other problems. Reducing BAAB's reliance on PIC funding would increase its flexibility and ability to launch additional programs.

VII. OUTCOMES

Benefits from TOPS have accrued to youth, businesses, schools and teachers, though not in equal measure. The goal of the program is to assist disadvantaged youth; youth are the primary beneficiaries. The BAAB staff recently surveyed youth who had participated in the program from the summer of 1981 through the 1984/85 school year. Of the 425 questionnaires that were mailed, 168 responses (40 percent) were obtained through a combination of mail and telephone solicitation. The responses were as follows:

- 42 percent were attending four-year colleges;
- 17 percent were attending two-year colleges; and
- 7 percent were attending vocational schools.

A combined total of 66 percent were continuing their education or training. Of those 110 still attending school, 40 percent were working full or part time, 10 percent of them still in their TOPS job. Of the remaining 58 respondents, 16 (28 percent) were employed.

Although it seems likely that former participants who had something positive to report might be more likely to respond to the survey, the number of TOPS graduates working and/or attending school is impressive in a city where the unemployment rate for 1985 was 9.7 percent. The comments that accompanied the surveys emphasize how the program influenced the participants' lives. According to one respondent, "The program provided many benefits, but the two main benefits were job experience and confidence in myself." Another reported that he held a job in the company in which he had been placed by TOPS, and that he had been promoted.

Teachers in the schools comment that TOPS students behave differently from other comparable students, and refer to characteristics such as their increased self-confidence and sense of direction. For many of these students, TOPS provides an opportunity to achieve success and gain satisfaction, something many have never been able to do in school. The majority of youth in the program have no special accomplishments in their backgrounds, and qualify for a program like TOPS because they don't stand out.

When students who participated in the 1985 summer portion of the program were asked to evaluate all aspects of the program at the conclusion of the summer, it was often the personal interest in them and their plans that impressed the participants. According to one of the students, the instructors were "Excellent...Showed interest in what we was (sic) doing." Others referred to the "good advice" and the "help in setting goals." In response to the question of whether or not they would recommend the program to a friend, a student wrote that he would because, "Where I come from, just about all of them needs (sic) help to make it in the real work world and how to get along with other people."

Mentoring is not specifically built into the program, but the ratio of teachers to students and the sustained contact with both teachers and supervisors during their participation in the program provides students with a similar opportunity. For many students, the extra attention from a concerned adult may be the single most important component. Several people are always actively concerned about the participants' grades, absences, problems and work experiences. This support is further bolstered by the peer group support that develops out of this experience.

Business Outcomes

A number of businesses that do not normally hire students directly out of high school have accepted students from TOPS. No systematic attempt has been made to measure if this has opened additional jobs to graduates of the Birmingham schools, or to determine the number of TOPS students who have remained as permanent employees. Based on the graduate survey, 32 of the 168 (19 percent) people who responded were still working at their original TOPS job.

TOPS has continued to be viewed by business as an attractive program with which to collaborate. It allows individual businesses to choose students whom they wish to hire. It provides TJTC credit for hiring many of the youth, and it helps companies meet affirmative action quotas. In accepting TOPS students, a business can proceed with confidence, perhaps even more than when hiring regular employees. Not only are the students trained in job-appropriate behavior before beginning work, but they continue to receive guidance during the time they are on the job. Should a problem arise, the supervisor knows whom to contact to resolve any difficulties.

Although there are a number of other youth employment programs that offer similar job opportunities and allow students to enter large corporations on the ground floor, TOPS is structured in such a way as to ensure that business continues to see it as their program. Robert Stewart, Chairman of the Board of Liberty National Life Insurance Company and an early board member of BAAB, described the program in the following way: "The only jobs that should be created are in the private sector. I want to emphasize that our program is not a government program. It is a private program."

Participation in BAAB has also become an acceptable outlet for businesses in Birmingham that are interested in increasing their community involvement and visibility. Unlike other forms that this civic contribution might take, hiring TOPS students means that youth benefit directly while business is able to contribute on its own terms.

Outcomes for Schools and Teachers

TOPS' involvement with the schools has been minimal, and the separate status has been carefully maintained by the program's administrators. However, teachers are drawn from the school district. They report that the opportunity to teach with a partner in small classes has been both enjoyable and beneficial. TOPS also benefits the schools by enabling students in vocational education to find employment while still in school.

VIII. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS

TOPS is an efficient, generally well-run program that attempts to prepare youth for work in business environments that might otherwise be closed to them. TOPS aims to teach youth skills that will assist them in obtaining employment during the rest of their lives. Among its strengths are the following:

- The program effectively bridges the gap between schools and business through the efforts and experience of key staff members, the use of "loaned executives" to recruit new businesses, and the care with which jobs are selected.

- The educational component has been modified each year both to address the concerns of business and the interest of students.

- Teachers and supervisors who work directly with the students are concerned and committed.

However, there are a number of areas that require attention. Many of them are already being addressed by the staff; however, they bear mentioning because they augment our understanding of TOPS' operation and are typical of problems facing similar partnership efforts. Among these problem areas are the following:

- In order to continue to grow, TOPS has to increase the job commitment of existing companies or find ways to enlist new companies in the hiring efforts. The majority of Birmingham's large corporations are already participating; the challenge will be to reach the small and medium-sized companies who are less likely to belong to the Chamber of Commerce or to be part of the business establishment.

- The student recruitment process is weak; information about the program may not be reaching those students who could benefit most. Possible solutions may be to increase incentives for guidance counselors or to send more TOPS staff into the schools.

- Effort must be placed on attracting participants who reflect the racial mix of the entire school population in Birmingham. The current all-black program is not beneficial to the students or to the program's reputation within the community.

- Many of the current jobs are sexually stereotyped and serve to perpetuate the imbalance between males and females in the program. Both employers and students should be encouraged to broaden their perspectives.

- The timing and location of school-year classes pose a problem for many participants, who come directly from a day at school followed by three hours of work. The administrators' conviction that it would be difficult to integrate such classes into the school day leaves few alternatives, but the present arrangement is unsatisfactory.

The TOPS program's continued growth and development depends on its relationship to both business and the schools. The program has provided some portion of the Birmingham business community with the opportunity to assist the city's youth through an employment program that has yielded benefits for them as well as for the youth. Whether those benefits will serve to enlist other businesses remains the next test for the program. The ability of TOPS to grow and to serve those students most in need may be limited by its ability to strengthen its linkages to the school district.

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

Philadelphia High School Academies
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

by Phyllis Snyder and Bernard J. McMullan

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT . 7

III. THE ACADEMIES: VARIATIONS ON A GENERAL MODEL . . . 13

IV. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ACADEMIES 33

V. CONCLUSIONS 55

TABLES

III.1 Expected Course Sequence Philadelphia Health Academy 28

IV.1 Completion and Attrition Rates Among 1981 10th-Grade Business Academy Cohort 37

IV.2 Comparison of Samples and Universe on Selected Demographic Values 42

IV.3 Average Months Engaged in Work or School During 18 Months Following Graduation 43

IV.4 Employment and Enrollment Status by Sample 45

IV.5 Postsecondary Education Experience Among Those Ever Enrolled 47

IV.6 Summary Characteristics of Job Market Experience Since Graduation by Sample 49

IV.7 Characteristics of Employment 18 Months After Graduation Among Working Graduates by Sample . . . 50

IV.8 Job Search Activities Used the Last Time Respondent Looked for a Job 52

APPENDIX

IV.1 Philadelphia Academies Graduate Study Final Disposition Codes

I. INTRODUCTION

The Philadelphia High School Academies are a set of four-year vocational preparation programs that are a partnership effort by business, labor and community organizations and the Philadelphia Public Schools. Academies seek to serve potentially "at-risk" youth by linking academic skills, vocational training and the prospect of employment for graduates. They offer students comprehensive required curricula, job maturity development, paid work experience and close teacher supervision. Academies report high average daily attendance, exceptionally low student dropout rates and high post-graduation employment rates. They served about 1,200 students in 1986.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The four Academies, each concentrating on a distinct vocational area, are:

- The Academy of Applied Electrical Science;
- The Philadelphia Business Academy;
- The Academy of Automotive and Mechanical Sciences; and
- The Philadelphia Health Academy.

Each Academy is governed by a separate board of directors, which includes representatives of the school district and local businesses with interest in that Academy's vocational area. Each board provides direct support for their Academy programs through advisory panels and curriculum review teams. In addition, corporations represented on the board offer part-time and summer employment opportunities for Academy students. Most companies represented on the board are major financial supporters of the Academies and raise funds and solicit jobs from other Philadelphia businesses.

Although each Academy is separately incorporated, the group falls under the umbrella of a larger organization, the Philadelphia High School Academy Association (PHSAA). PHSAA is a separate organization that assists all Academies, working with them to set Academy policies and developing expansion plans. The PHSAA board of directors is composed of an executive director, board chairs and executive directors of the separate Academies, the superintendent of schools, the district director of career and vocational education and school district liaison to the Academies, and high level corporate executives of the Philadelphia business and labor community.

ACADEMIES IN OPERATION: THE GENERAL MODEL

The Academies have some general characteristics that distinguish them from other programs. Each Academy is a full four-year program with a specific vocational focus--automotive and mechanical science, electrical science, business or health care. Academies are housed within comprehensive high schools but operate as "schools within schools." Academy students take all classes from teachers assigned to the Academy; most teachers instruct only Academy students.

In general, the Academies do not serve as cross-district magnet programs; students are drawn from the student body that would normally attend the host high school. However, Academy representatives give presentations to eighth-graders, encouraging them to consider applying to an Academy. Also, teachers and counselors in the junior high feeder schools may recommend students to the Academies.

Students are selected on the basis of several criteria that are designed to identify the low-achieving students the Academies seek to serve. The criteria include:

- Low academic achievement, as indicated by math and reading skills below grade level;
- Test scores that rank between the 20th and 50th percentile within the district;
- Some demonstrated interest in the Academy program; and
- Attendance at school the majority of time.

Lead teachers, who serve as both primary recruiters and admissions officers for the Academies, report that they follow the academic performance criteria more closely than the attendance and interest criteria. Lead teachers say they are especially careful not to admit students who are above the criteria in academic performance. They report exercising more latitude in admitting students with poor attendance or little interest in the vocational area if junior high school teachers and guidance personnel recommend the student to the program. Academy records indicate that 73 percent of Academy students tested below the 25th national percentile in the California Achievement Tests (CAT) in either reading comprehension or mathematics skills. Thirty-five percent tested below the 25th national percentile in both reading comprehension and math skills.

Students take a standardized curriculum that meets both state academic graduation standards and vocational training requirements. The curriculum thus emphasizes both vocational and academic courses. Instructors are encouraged to integrate vocationally relevant examples and experiences into their teaching whenever possible to underscore the link between basic skills education, job preparation and employment. Academies have lengthened the school day by one period to accommodate these dual requirements; consequently, students have few opportunities to take elective courses outside the curriculum.

Classroom work is supplemented in the upper grades by after-school and summer work experience. Teachers emphasize the development of both work skills and work maturity in preparing students for these positions. Business involvement in the Academies is substantial; it includes funding and personnel support, work study opportunities for students, classroom visits, curriculum advice and a variety of special programs for students.

These general characteristics constitute the overall Academy model. The individual evolution of each Academy may have brought about some variation in emphasis and approach, but the primary features are common to all.

HISTORY

The Academies began in 1969 as a response to community concerns about racial tension in Philadelphia and to the recognition that local corporations would become increasingly dependent on youth from Philadelphia public schools to fill their entry-level positions. At the time, dropout rates from public schools were approaching 50 percent and unemployment among minority youth was skyrocketing. Community leaders hoped to design a program, targeted at inner-city youth, that would keep them in school and prepare graduates for employment.

The Philadelphia Urban Coalition coordinated an effort to design a program that first linked basic skills to vocational training, then related skills training to employment. The Academy, as it came to be known, gained the support of business leaders and the school district, which agreed to run a pilot beginning in 1969. This Academy, the Electrical Academy, was housed at Thomas Edison High School, a school with the highest dropout rate and lowest attendance rates in the city. The pilot met many of its supporters'expectations and an executive director, Hendrik Koning, was recruited from the Philadelphia Electrical Company as a "loaned executive" for a one-year term. His tenure with the Academies was regularly extended and Koning continues to serve as executive director of the Philadelphia High School Academy Association.

In 1972, the Philadelphia Business Academy was opened in University City High School; a second Business Academy was opened at South Philadelphia High School three years later. The Academy of Applied Automotive and Mechanical Sciences was established at Simon Gratz High School in 1974.

Following several years of relative stability, new national and local attention on school/business partnerships resulted in a flurry of activity within the Philadelphia Academies that led to creation of a new academy and expansion of existing programs. The Philadelphia Health Care Academy first admitted students in 1982. By 1986, the Business Academy had expanded to a total of five high schools and the Electrical, Applied Automotive and Mechanical Science and Health Care Academies were operating programs in a total of five other high schools. As this profile was being prepared, other vocational areas for new Academies were being considered, as was a new organizational structure to support an expansion to serve 5,000 of the approximately 50,000 Philadelphia public high school students.

CHARACTERISTICS

Public/Private Ventures included the Philadelphia High School Academies in its national assessment of school/business collaborations for several reasons:

- Longevity--In an environment in which school/business collaborations are often measured in months, the Philadelphia program has been operating since 1969.
- Size and expansion--The Academy program has grown steadily since its inception and is preparing for a substantial increase in its scope.
- Targeting--P/PV's review of other programs disclosed that relatively few programs are designed to serve educationally at-risk youth. The Academies are specifically committed to reducing the number of dropouts and avoiding recruitment of the most academically able students.
- Comprehensiveness--Few programs match the Academies in providing direct in-school training, work/study opportunities and careful counseling and placement.
- Substantial involvement by business community--The Academies receive considerable support from Philadelphia corporations, including financial backing, technical and advisory assistance and in-kind contributions.

- Joint responsibility--A strong sense of partnership is felt by both the business commitment and school in the Academies program.
- Research potential--The Academies offered sufficient numbers of students to conduct a quantitative assessment of postgraduation achievements.

SCOPE OF P/PV RESEARCH

Public/Private Ventures used both qualitative and quantitative approaches in its study of the Philadelphia High School Academies. Members of the research team visited six of the ten schools in which Academies are located. During school visits, semistructured interviews were conducted with the principal, the lead teacher of the Academy program, other Academy teachers, chairs of the academic departments with interests in the Academy, and students. During several school visits, we observed a variety of Academy classes and participated in meetings of business representatives who, as part of their support of the Academy, served on "school teams" to review program activities and accomplishments.

P/PV also interviewed the executive director of the Philadelphia High School Academies Association, the directors of the four Academies and their staff, and members of the school district staff, including the liaison for Academy programs and the director of vocational education. To grasp the role of the business community in the Academies, P/PV conducted a series of interviews with the PHSAA board members, including its chair and director of development. Representatives of major companies that supported the Academies (often members of the personnel department) were interviewed for their assessment of the abilities and accomplishments of Academy students and whether they were employable.

To assess the ability of the Academy model to meet its dual goals of dropout prevention and improved preparation for employment, P/PV undertook a two-part quantitative study of Academy students. First, P/PV conducted a survey of Academy graduates and two comparison groups of other graduates 18 months after graduation to assess their initial experiences in the labor market. Second, we reviewed the complete school district records of an entering cohort of Academy students to determine how many students completed the Academy, how many left the Academy but graduated from the host high school, and how many never graduated. These rates were compared with school and district completion rates for the same period.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The remainder of this profile is organized as follows: Chapter II describes the general Academy model, its organizational structure and the role that the business community plays in its delivery and support. Chapter III describes the implementation of the general Academy model in each of the four Academies. Chapter IV presents the findings of the two quantitative portions of the profile, emphasizing the results of the graduate survey. Chapter V presents some of the key lessons that the Philadelphia High School Academies present for other school/business collaborations.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT

The Philadelphia High School Academies are frequently described as "schools within schools" and their management and organization reflect this dual structure. Academies operate as part of the school district but also maintain a separate management structure that is jointly funded by and accountable to business and schools.

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

As part of the Philadelphia School District, the Academies are situated within comprehensive high schools and Academy students are subject to the basic academic requirements demanded of all high school students in the city. Academy students and teachers are responsible to the principal of the high school. Classroom space, equipment and faculty are primarily provided by the school district as they are for any other special program. However, the Academies' recruitment, course planning and coordination are overseen by lead teachers. The schools also make special provisions for the Academies, including the following:

- Academy students are "block-rostered," that is, their schedules are arranged so that they can attend classes together. Also, schedules of juniors and seniors who work after school are arranged to allow them to leave school early.
- Teachers of Academy students, who may also teach non-Academy students, are scheduled for a common free period, which is devoted to planning curriculum and discussing Academy students.
- The school district contributes extra funds to support the activities of the Academies. For every dollar contributed by business, the district provides an estimated dollar and a half above the level of support routinely allocated per student.

Since 1981, site selection for new Academies has involved a proposal and review process. Interested high schools are required to submit a proposal demonstrating their willingness to accept the particular requirements that hosting an Academy demands--such as block-rostering, scheduling Academy teachers for a common free period and arranging the schedules of junior and senior students who work to allow them to leave before the end of the school day. High school proposals are evaluated by individual Academies and the school district, and preference is given to schools where the Academy will add substantially to the programs offered in the school.

The school district provides a full-time liaison between the Academies and the district. Barbara Goldsmith, an employee of the Department of Career and Vocational Education, functions as a troubleshooter and promoter for all of the Academies. Since the backgrounds of the executive directors are not in public education, Goldsmith's knowledge and experience in negotiating the regulations and demands of the school system and obtaining needed resources--teachers, equipment and funds--are invaluable. Since she functions within the system but does not report to individual school principals, she can assist the lead teachers in working with principals to make necessary accommodations. Her lack of attachment to any single Academy and her knowledge of the inner workings of them all enable her to judge their strengths and weaknesses. She makes suggestions to the directors and business people about changes she feels must be made and works with them and with the schools to implement improvements.

Early in the development of the Academies, Research for Better Schools (RBS), a Philadelphia firm specializing in educational research, developed a series of manuals that codified and explained the Academy's approach and method of instruction. RBS has also developed and run training sessions for Academy teachers that seek to help them understand business's perspective and incorporate vocational concepts into the academic curriculum.

An important issue for the Academies has been communication between school and homes and school and business community. A series of newsletters is published as a means of maintaining the flow of information and of recognizing outstanding attendance and performance of Academy students. Newsletters are published both by the PHSAA, which reports on the activities of all Academies, and by individual Academies, which devote their attention to their own programs and students.

EXTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The second part of the Academies' management structure consists of the executive directors and board of directors for each of the four academies. The executive directors work in offices outside the schools and devote the majority of their time to developing and maintaining business contacts, fundraising and managing the operation of the Academies. They meet regularly with their boards of directors, whose responsibilities encompass provision of jobs, presentations in individual classes, fund-raising and development and review of specialized curricula.
In 1981, the Philadelphia High School Academy Association was created as an nonprofit organization to serve all Academies. Its development represented an attempt to centralize some Academy

functions, to enlist financial support from Philadelphia firms not linked to a particular Academy and to plan for a possible expansion of the Academies. Hendrik Koning continues as executive director. The PHSAA Board includes the chair of each individual Academy board, as well as executives from companies and community organizations that have supported the Academies since their inception.

BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN THE ACADEMIES

The impetus for developing and managing the Academies came from business people and the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, who have provided a strength and continuity of business involvement unique in the school district. When each Academy was founded, one or several firms took responsibility for initiating the program. Their contributions included both human and material resources and represented a substantial investment. However, as the Academies have grown, the responsibilities of overseeing them have exceeded the time commitment of loaned executives and the nature of business involvement in Academy operations has changed.

Many of the companies that have continued to support the Academies through board membership, financial support and student jobs are among the largest and most prestigious firms in the city. For those firms and individuals whose interest and commitment has continued to be strong, substantial opportunities remain to guide and advise the executive directors and lead teachers as well as individual students. In interviews P/PV conducted with a number of business people who have worked with the Academies, their sense of responsibility for the Academy programs was apparent. However, this level of concern has been characteristic of a limited number of businesses and business people.

The fact that the Academies have never become a highly visible or widespread business program in Philadelphia or elsewhere may be a result of the substantial demands that the program has placed on businesses that are involved. However, as the Academies have grown, bringing an increase in the number of jobs needed as well as in level of funding, efforts have been made to recruit additional firms, including small and medium-sized firms with positions that may be more appropriate to the needs of Academy graduates. These firms have been given the option of contributing jobs or funds without additional involvement.

In recent years, the Academies have had to compete with several other school programs that also require serious and substantial commitment from business. The current superintendent of schools, Dr. Constance Clayton, has cultivated the school district's ties to the Philadelphia business community and has worked successfully with corporate leaders to initiate new efforts and to support ongoing programs, including the Academies. The Committee to Support the Philadelphia Public Schools, founded in 1983 to foster business support for the schools, has designed and implemented several initiatives to which businesses have contributed approximately $500,000 annually as well as significant personal involvement. Other programs, including individual partnerships as well as citywide efforts, receive substantial corporate funds.

Although the origins and level of business participation vary in each of the Academies, there are certain elements that remain common to all and that have helped define the special nature of the program. Business contributions, which include both human and material resources, are fundamental to the basic purpose of the program, which is to link school and work without sacrificing basic skills instruction.

Business contributions generally fall under the following categories:

- Teacher stipends;
- Donation of equipment and supplies;
- Donation of funds;
- Provision of jobs during the summer, after school, and after graduation;
- Introduction of students to the world of work through tours of worksites, practice interviews and special classroom programs;
- Management of Academies;
- Membership on Academy advisory committees; and
- Curriculum development and review.

Donation of Funds and Equipment

The donation of funds has been only one aspect of a broader pattern of support. The extra funds have enabled Academies to treat students with flexibility and individual attention that are usually not possible in a large urban high school. The money is channeled to specific purposes. For example, teachers are paid to attend training sessions after school and to work on curriculum modification and program planning during the summer; lead teachers receive stipends for program coordination and for increased administrative responsibilities; telephones are installed in the classrooms of the lead teachers so they can contact parents regularly; and special materials are purchased.

Most equipment used to train Academy students is provided by the school district. The Academies have relied minimally on business contributions to supplement or update standard school equipment. However, P/PV observed that much of the equipment used to train students in the Academies, particularly the Business and Automotive Academies, was out-of-date.

Jobs and Exposure to the Demands of the Workplace

One of the primary attractions of the Academies, both during recruitment of students and during classes, is that regular attendance and good grades will lead to a good job. Introduction to the workplace is made early and includes frequent reminders of the requirements and standards of the business world. For example, business people from the Advisory Committee are invited to speak to classes, field trips that allow students to see different types of work environments are scheduled and students are given the opportunity to practice being interviewed.

During the first two years, students are assisted in obtaining summer jobs, primarily through existing city efforts like the Phil-a-Job program, which provide them with income as well as some understanding of workplace demands. By junior year, the most qualified students are sent on interviews for after-school jobs that will allow them to use the skills they have been developing in the Academy. By senior year, a large number of the students have been placed; the postgraduation placement rate of the Business Academy class of 1984 was 86 percent one year after graduation. Most jobs are in firms that have other connections with the Academies; often, the youth's supervisor or someone else in the firm serves on an Academy board. Their feelings of responsibility for youth assigned to them often exceed those they might have for another newly hired person; supervisors interviewed by P/PV reported regular meetings with the youth and careful monitoring of their work.

Management and Advising of Individual Academies

To ensure that Academy programs continue to prepare students for the real needs of the businesses where they hope eventually to work, each Academy has a board of directors composed of business professionals from firms and organizations related to the Academy's focus. Their responsibilities can include curriculum review, assessment of workplace readiness, and assistance with recruiting. Because of the importance attached to this advisory function and the desire to deliver specialized attention to each individual Academy, the Business Academy has developed separate teams for each of its five high schools. In addition to one or two representatives from the Business Academy board, each school's advisory team includes several other business people from the community.

Board members may spearhead the drive for contributions of money and jobs from other businesses but their major function is to serve as a link between the jobs and the classroom. Since the same companies frequently supply jobs and encourage employee participation in the Academies' program, board members are aware of problems that the students encounter when they are placed in jobs and are able to suggest areas of the curriculum that need changing or strengthening. This continuity of involvement, combined with the small size of the Academies, has led to strong ties between schools and businesses and has promoted a sense of responsibility among the companies.

Although the companies themselves are often large, there is a small network of people within the organization who maintain the ties. Personnel who choose to participate by supervising Academy students or joining an advisory board are frequently younger employees and a high percentage are blacks or women. While these employees are usually not upper management, they bring their company's prestige into the schools. Meetings of the business participation teams are held in the schools so members can observe classes and understand the school environment. Their visibility reinforces the students' sense that the business community is concerned about what happens in the Academy.

Curriculum Development and Review

Business representatives have played a crucial role in initial curriculum design but their continuing participation in the Academies has varied. As the Academies have become aware of the importance of reviewing and updating regular curricula to ensure that youths' vocational training prepares them for a changing job market, the lack of business participation has become apparent. As a result, Academy staff have begun to encourage greater business involvement in review of curriculum materials and advocate business participation in summer workshops to design new courses. Attention is also being paid to feedback from supervisors at worksites who inform Academy teachers about students' weaknesses on the job.

As the Academies have matured, the role of business has also evolved. In several of the Academies, businesses have gone beyond reacting to items presented to them by the executive director and the lead teacher and have taken the initiative in questioning existing policies in recruitment, choice of courses and job placement. At the same time, the Academies have encouraged greater participation from small and medium-sized businesses whose support consists entirely of hiring Academy students.

III. THE ACADEMIES: VARIATIONS ON A GENERAL MODEL

The four Philadelphia High School Academies offer interesting variations in their individual approach to and implementation of the general Academy model. While the Academies share common components--such as "schools within schools," block-rostering, advice and support from the business community, occupationally relevant education in both vocational and academic courses, and integration of work experience for students--each has adapted the general model to meet the requirements of host schools, the needs of students and the expectations of employers and business supporters.

This chapter summarizes P/PV's observations of the Academy program as it is implemented in the four Academies and their multiple locations. The variations P/PV observed are important because they indicate whether the Academies model can accommodate different environments and objectives.

Academies are described in the order in which they were founded. Within each description, the summary describes first the factors surrounding the creation of the Academy; second, current implementation of the Academy, emphasizing significant variations from the general model; and third, key issues for the future.

THE ELECTRICAL ACADEMY

The Electrical Academy at Edison High School opened in 1969. Many of its initial practices continue, both in the two Electrical Academies and in the other Academies as well. The Electrical Academy was developed jointly by representatives of business and the school system, targeting youth who were at risk of failure in the school district. To ensure that it reached the target population, the school chosen to house the Academy was one that served a high percentage of at-risk youth. Edison had the lowest attendance rate and highest dropout rate of any school in the city.

Program planners hoped to offer participating youth something beyond regular classes--specifically, preparation for and, ultimately, placement in a job. Basic skills were given equal importance to vocational preparation, and the language and skills needed on the job were incorporated into the basic skills instruction as much as possible.

The choice of electricity for the vocational focus reflected the significant involvement of representatives of the Philadelphia Electric Company and the Bell Telephone Company, as well as other electrical and communications industries. The urgency the planning body seemed to feel to begin a school program as quickly as possible meant that a company's willingness to play a substantial role in design and implementation of the new Academy influenced selection of the vocational area. This sequence also set a precedent for developing other Academies; industry willingness to "sponsor" an Academy dictated the choice of vocational area rather than an assessment of areas of job growth within the city.

Participation of company representatives as well as school district personnel in the design of the program led to companies' loan of employees for one-year teaching stints. Business also provided work experience to Academy students by supplying contract work for the in-school shop and offering summer and postgraduation jobs. In addition to the substantial in-kind contributions of staff and equipment that business has made to the Electrical Academies, they have supplied funds to supplement the school district budget. Some of the funding supports summer workshops in which teachers plan and design curriculum materials.

Current Operations

There are currently two Electrical Academies. One is the original site at Edison High School, which has a capacity of 100 students in grades 9 through 12 and a current enrollment of 96. A new Edison High School and Technical Center is under construction; when it opens in 1988, the capacity for this Academy site will increase to 250 students. The second Academy opened at Bartram High School in 1984. It has a capacity of 120 students and a current enrollment of 65 in grades 10 through 12. Fifty-five 9th-graders have been identified as pre-Academy students, but have not yet entered a full Academy program. Bartram was chosen as the second Academy site because of the absence of similar vocational programs in Southwest Philadelphia.

The executive director of the Electrical Academies is Johannes Ponsen, who was hired in 1978 to manage the organization and fundraising efforts. He was the first full-time employee of the Academies, which had been managed by executives loaned by Philadelphia Electric Company.

The lead teacher at Edison came to the school from industry in 1969, and saw the role of the Academy as improving both the skills and the attitude of the youth, who he characterized as "not cream but skim milk." One of the most significant differences between the Academy students and other students at Edison is the dropout rate. Fifty percent of the school's population leaves school before graduation, primarily between 9th and 10th grade. According to the Electrical Academy's records for the 1984-85 school year, 81 students were enrolled at Edison Academy at the beginning of the year and the number remained the same at the end of the year. In the teacher's opinion, the small class size and the extra attention teachers can give to students are major factors in the success of the Academy program. Recently, the Academy has paid four teachers to provide after-school tutoring two days per week.

The chair of the English Department at Edison has taught in the Academy program since it began. He described its initial focus as dropout prevention through assisting youth to gain jobs. However, he recalled that it quickly became obvious that basic skills were as necessary as work-related skills in preparing the youth for jobs. To bolster that connection in the minds of the Academy youth, the teachers developed special curriculum materials in math, English and social studies that incorporated electrical concepts, issues and vocabulary into their subject matter. For example, in a class on the social and economic history of America the students read about and discuss union issues and workers' rights.

The Electrical Academy had relied on the in-school shops to provide work for many of the students both after school and during the summer. Two of the largest suppliers of work were Bell Telephone, which paid the youth to dismantle old telephones to salvage reusable parts, and the Philadelphia Electric Company, which hired them to clean meters. Changing technology and a changing market have reduced the number of jobs from both sources and it has been difficult for the schools to find replacement work that would allow the shop to continue functioning. The executive director has been looking for more part-time jobs outside the school.

Many of the jobs that Electrical Academy students fill during the summer and, in some cases, after graduation do not require specific electrical training. At several of the work sites visited, the youth performed building maintenance or office construction tasks. Some of the limitations on available jobs reflect union regulations, but the youths' skills frequently do not permit more complex work.

To ensure that the youth are learning relevant skills, Ponsen has begun to involve the members of his board in the educational as well as the management aspects of the Academy. Members were involved in the program design when Bartram opened and participated in summer workshops to develop new curriculum materials. Following the lead of the Business Academy, Ponsen organized teams of five board members to visit the schools more frequently and also to develop a new unit on electrical drafting, which is important to companies in the vocational area.

When Ponsen became director, he increased the number of business people on the advisory board to 30 in order to broaden sources of jobs and fundraising responsibilities. Ponsen feels that their increased participation in the Academies has encouraged them to make more jobs available to the students. Financial support comes from individual businesses and trade associations; the

Electrical Association holds an annual banquet to benefit the Academy. Total annual contributions from a fairly stable number of sources have been approximately $130,000 in recent years.

Issues of Concern

Although the Electrical Academy was the original model for subsequent Academies, there are several aspects of its operation that are not common to the others. Unlike other Academies, the Electrical Academy has drawn regular support in its fundraising and job development activities from the local trade association in the vocational area. Much of the students' work experience is obtained in the in-school shop. Because of its relative longevity, the director has faced certain problems and made some changes. The Electrical Academies, therefore, offer insights into how the original model has been modified and how well it continues to work. Its continued small size (not until 1984 did a second Electrical Academy open), its difficulties in recruiting students and finding sufficient work to keep them busy, and its development of a changed role for its business advisory board have implications for the other Academies as well.

Size and Recruitment of Student Population

Both Electrical Academies operate at less than their maximum capacity. Among the likely causes are increased competition with other special programs offered by the Philadelphia schools, the fact that Edison is considered an undesirable school, a fairly passive recruiting system and the lack of student interest in electrical careers. Edison has resorted to assigning students to the Academy who had applied to another program at the school and had not been accepted. Given the problems that Edison was already experiencing in recruiting an adequate number of students, one questions the decision to launch a second Electrical Academy.

Use of Private Sector Board Members

For most of the Electrical Academy's life, private sector involvement has been limited to a few companies. Although their strong and continued support was crucial to the Academy's continued existence, it also acted as a barrier by not forcing the Academy to seek increased participation from a more diverse group of companies. It also limited both the Academy's ability to develop jobs for the students and its sensitivity to the changing needs of companies. The recent broadening of the board's role may help bring the curriculum more in line with the changing demands of business and prepare youth for the jobs that really exist.

Integration of Vocational and Academic Work

For most youth, the chance to obtain a job is the major Academy incentive; jobs are used by the teachers as lures and rewards to get students to complete academic work. The focus has changed to establishing a link between mastery of basic skills and mastery of skills needed for the job. Teachers are working to integrate this linkage into the curriculum.

THE PHILADELPHIA BUSINESS ACADEMY

The second Academy to be developed was the Business Academy in 1972. It has grown to be the largest of the four Academies and, currently, has programs in five Philadelphia high schools. In part, the growth of the Business Academies has been due to the number of entry-level jobs that require business skills in Philadelphia's service-oriented job market. The growth also reflects the organization and operation of the Business Academies, which are more structured in management and more aggressive in job development activities than the other Academies. Because of their growth and location in five different schools, the Business Academies provide a good opportunity to examine both the management of multisite Academies and the impact of different high school environments on Academy operation. In addition, like a number of the programs included in P/PV's study of school/business collaborations but unlike the other Academies, the Business Academy places considerable emphasis on learning the requirements of the workplace, personal development, basic skills development and motivation. Although some attention is paid to the acquisition of specific vocational skills, they are emphasized less than in other Academies.

The current director of the Business Academies, Frank Remmey, originally served the Academies as a loaned executive, beginning in 1977. Two years later, Remmey was named a full-time employee. He works from an office in the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society building.

The first Business Academy was established at University City High School. It was followed by a second Academy at South Philadelphia High School in 1975, a third at William Penn High School in 1981 and a fourth at Strawberry Mansion High School in 1984. P/PV staff observed Business Academy operations during the 1985-86 academic year. At that time, Business Academy staff and advisory committee members were planning a fifth Academy that opened in the fall of 1987 at Roxborough High School. Like its predecessor (the Electrical Academy), the first Business Academy was launched through the primary sponsorship of one company, the Philadelphia National Bank (PNB). The bank president eventually convinced other banks and insurance companies to participate as well. The Academy was initially managed by a series of loaned executives from PNB.

The Philadelphia Business Academy, Inc., is a nonprofit corporation that employs the executive director and a part-time secretary. Their salaries are paid out of the approximately $100,000 in funds contributed by local business that Remmey is responsible for raising. These funds also pay the rent, provide stipends to lead teachers for program coordination activities after school and during the summer, compensate Academy teachers for planning and staff development activities, purchase materials and equipment not provided in the regular school budget and provide incentives and awards for students. Remmey is assisted by two job developers whose salaries are paid by the Philadelphia Private Industry Council.

Remmey strives to manage the Business Academies like a business and has defined and centralized procedures and format for all sites. His office develops and circulates forms that can be used by all the Business Academies and provides a means by which sites can share materials and ideas. He has created teams of business people to work in schools to supplement the board of directors that oversees all five Business Academies.

Remmey spends the majority of his time managing the Academies and maintaining contact with the business community. He works closely with Barbara Goldsmith, the liaison to the school administration, meets regularly with the lead teachers and visits individual schools. He emphasizes the importance of job-readiness in working with the Academy staff and ensures that communication skills and development of student self-esteem are incorporated into all Academy classes. Unlike the other Academies (notably the Electrical and Health Academies, where integration of academic and vocational coursework is an important goal), the Business Academies emphasize the requirements of the workplace and incorporate such topics as interviewing techniques and appropriate dress and behavior into regular classes. Schools have developed various methods of rewarding youth for good attendance in school and success on the job. Interviews with business people and observation of students at Academy events confirmed that the Business Academies have been successful in fostering a sense of pride and cohesiveness among their students and parents.

Variations on the Business Academy Model

Although there is a common model for the Business Academies, they all operate within different school environments, a fact that influences recruitment, the quality of available teachers and the level of support from school administrators. Because of the Academies' target population, the high schools chosen to house them often have a high percentage of youth who are considered to be at risk of dropping out of school or are considered unlikely to find jobs even if they graduate. However, these schools may also have been chosen to house magnet (i.e., more selective) programs that stimulate competition for students and resources. During the 1985-86 school year, P/PV staff visited three Business Academies chosen by the executive director for their diversity. Two, William Penn and South Philadelphia, are included in the report because they demonstrate clear environmental differences; they are also illustrative of both the strengths and weaknesses of the Business Academy model.

William Penn Business Academy

William Penn Business Academy has an enrollment of 157 students in grades 10 through 12. The program began including 9th-graders in the fall of 1986, increasing the enrollment to 174. William Penn, which serves predominantly black students in North Philadelphia, also houses a communications magnet school. The position of lead teacher rotates among the Academy teachers and was held by Valerie Prattis for the second consecutive year in 1986. The program enjoys strong support from the school administration and business department. Academy students are block-rostered and teachers have a common free period when they can meet. The school's population has decreased--from 3,000 in 1975-76 to 1,400 in 1986. The school's administration welcomes programs like the Academy or the communications magnet to draw students to William Penn.

The Academy's recruiting effort has gone beyond the normal feeder schools for William Penn in an effort to find the strongest students in the eligible pool. Teachers felt that the Academy students were highly visible within the school because they were together for most of their classes. The chair of the business department at William Penn thought they were viewed as an "elite" by other business students and as special by themselves. Their attendance rate, like that of the majority of Academy students, is close to 90 percent; each student's home is called every time he/she is absent and students are instructed to call when they are ill as they would do on a job.

The school team members, the business people who advise the William Penn Academy, hold bimonthly meetings at the school, taking the opportunity to visit classes. Team members also conduct interviews with youth and their presence and participation are obvious to the students. Prattis was eager to see the business people get more substantially involved; at a meeting observed by P/PV, she raised the possibility of involving team members in the recruitment of ninth-graders for the following year. Those present seemed responsive to Prattis's suggestion and offered other types of participation, such as speaking to classes about the demands of the workplace and working with students individually.

In their zeal to suggest ways they could improve the Academy and obtain more and better jobs for "their" students, members suggested that the recruitment process might be made even more selective. The team's discussion revealed a tension that has become more apparent as the Academies seek to enlist more business support. For some of the business people who recently became involved in the Academies, either through supervision of youth on the job or through the participation of their company, the way to success for the Academy program is seen as going after students who will be able to perform well in jobs in prestigious corporations. However, many of the Academies' original supporters emphasize that the purpose of the Academies is to serve at-risk youth and that success should be measured by achievement of that goal.

During the Academy visit, P/PV interviewed several students who were among the 50 percent of Academy seniors who work after school They had chosen to attend the Academy and were pleased with the jobs they had obtained. Similarly, employers interviewed generally singled out the William Penn students because of their positive attitudes and willingness to learn. However, as with other Business Academy students, their skills did not always meet employers' expectations. Even supporters of the Academy program admit that the majority of Academy students they supervise are less prepared than students from other programs or newly hired entry-level employees. Some said that better communication between school and businesses might adjust expectations and help ensure an appropriate job for Academy students. Some also felt that the Academies had to work harder to bring students to a more acceptable level of competence.

South Philadelphia Business Academy

The administration at South Philadelphia High School provides less support to the Business Academy than the principal at William Penn. As a result, the model at South Philadelphia is not as well-developed. There is also some resistance to aspects of the Academy model within the community served by the school. For example, it is difficult to convince students to take jobs outside their immediate community or to convince female students to wear skirts to conform to the code of a downtown office.

The South Philadelphia Business Academy had a total enrollment of 168 students in the fall of 1985 and a total capacity of 175. Ninth-grade students were included in the program for the first time that year, a change that was welcomed by Ron Ferraro, lead teacher of the Academy, as a means of recruiting more students. He had been experiencing difficulty filling Academy classes for several reasons. First, overall student population was declining. In addition, Philadelphia high schools, like many other urban high schools, offered students at all levels of academic ability a range of special programs to which they could apply. Ferraro's assessment was that the popularity of business programs in Philadelphia was declining. By recruiting students in the eighth grade, the year that all students make high school choices, the Academy is able to attract youth from a wider range of schools.

Few accommodations have been made to the Academy at South Philadelphia High School. Schedules have not been arranged so that Academy teachers have a common period when they can meet and share information about their students, and the participating stu-dents do not attend classes together. An observer does not sense the same pride in having the Academy in the school that one senses at William Penn. Still, teachers continue to give high priority to job-readiness and good attendance. According to Ferraro, the program provides support to the youth that is not available in a regular vocational program because it instructs them about appropriate attitudes for the business world before going to work and it brings benefits from the involvement of business.

But business involvement is more limited in South Philadelphia High School. Although business resources are available to the Academy and school team meetings are held several times a year, giving business people the opportunity to visit classes, business's role in the school is largely limited to fundraising and job development. In fact, some faculty and administration express concern with the ease with which the youth are able to obtain jobs. The problem, they say, is that students fail to learn how to get jobs on their own, and, not having had to struggle, may be too ready to leave a job if they find it "boring." The majority of the youth perform well at their jobs, but several supervisors and Business Academy teachers cite some students' unwillingness to adapt to the prevailing dress code or to "travel" to jobs in center city.

Issues of Concern

The Business Academies exhibit a number of strengths, including steady growth, organized operation, a willingness to experiment and continuing focus on student motivation. However, to continue to serve youth and meet the expectations of the business community as they have done in the past, they must resolve a number of problems:

- Not all Academy students are trained on word processors, which puts them at a disadvantage, particularly in large companies that may hire other students who have had such experience. Although attitude and job-readiness are important and deserve the continuing attention of the Academies, business expects to hire students with up-to-date vocational skills.

- The Business Academies, like the other Academies, have emphasized retention of youth in school. In some instances, this has been done by diminishing the rigor of academic and vocational training. Also, the Business Academies have given job-readiness equal importance with skill development. Both factors, combined with the poor academic background and performance of Academy students, has meant that many students graduate and are placed in jobs with skills that are weak. The Academies must assess how to continue serving an at-risk population while improving the quality of their preparation.

- The Business Academies have been strongly supported by some of Philadelphia's largest firms. Partly because of the weaknesses noted above and partly because of the increased need for jobs that will result from their planned expansion, the Academies may have to turn to small and medium-sized firms in the future. The expectations and level of pressure in such firms may suit Academy students better.

THE ACADEMY OF APPLIED AUTOMOTIVE AND MECHANICAL SCIENCE

The Academy of Applied Automotive and Mechanical Science began operations in 1974 as the third Philadelphia Academy. The Automotive Academy was first hosted by Simon Gratz High School, where it remained until 1984, when the Academy transferred operations to West Philadelphia High School. The Auto Academy, as it is called, is principally supported by the Sun Company, which loans a full-time executive, Richard White, as director of the Academy and provides the lion's share of the Academy's funding. In addition to the Sun Company, supporters of the Academy include representatives of automobile manufacturers and other organizations in the transportation industry.

In a recruitment flyer, the Academy describes itself as an "academic and vocational program designed to prepare you for employment upon graduation or for further education or a combination of employment and further education....The Academy can prepare you for a career in the automotive field."

Student Training

The Automotive Academy builds, perhaps more than any other Academy, on an existing vocational education tradition. The Philadelphia school district offers a number of vocational programs in automotive repair, of which the Academy is but one example. Although it emphasizes both basic skills and vocational skills, its activities focus on training youth in automotive repair skills.

Students gain work experience in the Automotive Academy in several ways:

- Vocational coursework, including repairing, disassembling and reassembling automotive systems on prototypes or donated vehicles;
- After-school work on vehicles left by regular customers who contract with the academy to have repairs done; and
- After-school work at area garages or fleet service departments of large organizations.

Vocational Coursework. As part of their coursework in vocational classes, students learn the fundamentals of diagnosing and repairing automotive systems. Some of this work is done using "teaching" prototypes; other work is done on vehicles kept in the workshop for instructional purposes. The Academy is not alone in this "hands-on" instructional approach; it is found in most automotive vocational education classes. However, the Academy is the only high school in the state certified to teach automotive emission control testing and auto safety inspection curricula.

After-School Repairs. The lead teacher characterizes some of the Academy operations as an automotive repair shop within the school district. As in many vocational automotive programs, community members often bring cars that require servicing to the Academy workshop. Students receive the customer, write up the service order, and organize and complete the work. Academy teachers laud this type of experience because it closely approximates the "real world."

Individuals or businesses donate used or unwanted vehicles to the Academy to get tax write-offs. Academy students undertake repair of the donated vehicles, which are often resold. The profits that are generated from the sale are used to upgrade tools and equipment in the shop. Academy teachers cite the restoration of these donated vehicles as a way that students can get "hands-on" experience in automotive repair. Academy instructors were less positive in their assessment of new vehicles, which are often donated by area car dealers. Customarily, the dealers do not give the academy title to the vehicle and it cannot be resold. Also, the car or truck itself is in perfect running condition; thus its instructional value is limited to disassembling and reassembling different mechanical systems. Teachers contend that this exercise has limited value to students because it does not challenge them to find a problem and repair it.

After-School Work. Students are frequently placed in part-time, after-school jobs at area auto dealers, auto repair shops and service stations. The lead teacher and other teachers, using their contacts with local businesses, attempt to place students in these jobs to give them experience. However, these placements are limited by age restrictions (minimum of 18 years of age) at most businesses; usually, only seniors are old enough to be placed in these off-campus jobs. A job placement counselor, who also works with the Business Academy, places Auto Academy students.

Effects of Moving Academy Operations

The lead teacher at West Philadelphia High School Auto Academy is Matthew Proctor, who joined the school district directly from an automobile repair service he owned in the city. Proctor contends that while at Simon Gratz, the program really did not function as an Academy. The Simon Gratz principal gave little support to the Academy: students were not block-rostered nor were they expected to follow a rigid Academy curriculum. No discernable "team" of teachers was assigned to the Academy and teachers in nonvocational areas made little attempt to modify their courses to incorporate vocational concepts. After considerable wrangling, the Academy moved out of Simon Gratz High School and into West Philadelphia. In West Philadelphia, the Academy was given much more support from the principal. Students enrolled in the Academy were block-rostered and teachers across disciplines were assigned tentatively to the Academy team and began to incorporate relevant automotive and engineering examples in their coursework.

The Automotive Academy is a popular program with students. Proctor has had little difficulty recruiting students to fill the 37 9th-grade slots for the 1985-86 school year and has a waiting list of 9th- and 10th-graders. Program size is limited by the availability of instructors and the size of the shop facility. Richard White reports that about 15 percent of students drop out of the program each year. Of the 92 students enrolled in the Academy at West Philadelphia in 1984-85, 10 dropped out of school and four others entered other programs in the high school. Similar numbers of students dropped out of the Academy when it was at Simon Gratz. These rates are somewhat higher than reported by other Academy programs, but are expected to improve as the West Philadelphia program becomes established.

The effect of the switch from the original high school to West Philadelphia was not without consequences. First, the majority of students who enrolled in the Academy at Simon Gratz remained at the host high school and did not or will not graduate from an Academy. Second, when the Academy opened at West Philadelphia, all students already enrolled in the automotive program at West Philadelphia were automatically placed in the new Academy. Thus, 1985 Academy graduates had actually participated in the Academy for a single year; not until 1987 will the Academy graduate students who had been enrolled in it for a majority of their high school education and not until 1988 will graduates have experienced the full four-year program.

A third consequence of the transfer of the Automotive Academy from Simon Gratz to West Philadelphia was that the facilities for vocational training at West Philadelphia were not as good. Located in a school district building a block from the high school, the facilities suffer from poor lighting, old equipment and few work areas (bays). The school district and the Academy had agreed to relocate the Automotive Academy to West Philadelphia with the expectation that the existing facility would be modernized soon after. However, three years later, the Academy is still attempting to offer a vocational training curriculum with outdated equipment and techniques that are no longer current. The lack of new equipment also means that students graduating from the program may not have been exposed to the newest computer-assisted diagnostic techniques nor be familiar with the new technologies that are found in most new vehicles.

Continuing Issues

The Automotive Academy is still in a state of flux. It has yet to recover from its dramatic change in venue and has not yet graduated students who have participated in the full four-year program at its new site. Of course, the move to West Philadelphia has meant that a regular Academy model has been instituted--students are block-rostered, an Academy teaching team has been created and efforts have been made to integrate vocational materials in basic skills courses.

The lack of adequate facilities remains one of the major constraints on the Automotive Academy. The vocational training facilities at West Philadelphia High School are poor. Instructors and students work in shop conditions that are outdated and poorly maintained and expectations of new facilities have not been realized.

More than any other Academy, sponsorship of the Automotive Academy is dominated by a single organization--the Sun Company. Its support has been generous throughout the history of the Academy but may also have limited the ability of other organizations to get involved in more than a token manner. The Academy has taken some steps to recruit a more active board that is not overshadowed by Sun. Executive Director White hopes that Sun's dominance of the Academy will diminish by 1988 and other organizations will come forward to support the program.

THE PHILADELPHIA HEALTH ACADEMY

The Philadelphia Health Academy is the newest of the Scademies. First enrolling students in Fall 1982, the Academy expanded to a second site in 1985. The Health Academy's adaptation of the Academy model distinguishes it from the other Academies along several dimensions. In contrast with the other three Academies, the principal focus of the Health Academy is on enhanced academic training to prepare graduates for admission to two- and four-year colleges in health and allied health curricula; vocational training is limited, and job placements are restricted primarily to summer positions. The Health Academy's goals emphasize academic preparation for a health-related career:

- To give students a realistic understanding of career possibilities in health care work;
- To develop in the students the basic skills and work attitudes known to be necessary for employment in the health care field;
- To provide students with the academic background required to qualify for entrance into health care training programs after high school.

The Health Academy, then, does not prepare students for entry-level positions. Rather, its aim is to provide students with the academic foundation they need to enter a two- or four-year program toward certification in a health-related field. Support for the Health Academy comes from a consortium of private corporations and not-for-profit organizations. Supporters include public and private hospitals, the local health care providers union and the school district.

The Health Academy was jointly initiated by several hospital administrators and the local health care workers union at the suggestion of leaders of the Philadelphia Academies and the school district. At first, health care administrators were concerned that the union would object to the training of high school students in health care in a privately sponsored program. However, Henry Nicholas, the local and national president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (1199C), surprised the planning group by not only allowing students into the hospitals as part-time workers, but requesting that the union be heavily involved in the development of the Academy. He noted that the 20,000 local union members had a stake in the Philadelphia School District and that his union was willing to help in any way it could.

Nicholas appointed Dr. James T. Ryan, a member of the union staff, to work with the planning committee to develop support for the Academy. Ryan would eventually serve as its first executive director. Several meetings were held during Spring 1982 to outline a program for the Academy. These meetings yielded critical decisions regarding the new Academy's goals, structure and operations. Planning group members emphasized their desire for a program that was low-budget, involving little bureaucracy and offering few frills. Members solicited the advice of other health care professionals to identify what types of jobs in health care would be available in the 1990s and what skills would be needed to fill these positions.

Interestingly, the first program model proposed for the Academy drew heavily upon the models used in other Academies that emphasize skills and training necessary for entry-level positions. In particular, the model proposed a six-month training practicum in a health care setting. This model was rejected by Academy planners, who wanted a program that was almost totally academic, with little if any direct vocational training. As Ryan recounts the discussions, planning team members said repeatedly, "We'll do the training. We want students with skills in science and math, not specific job skills."

The result was a Academy model that differs sharply from other Academies. The Health Academy was the first Academy to enroll students in the ninth grade[1] and to lengthen the school day by one period. During students' projected four years in the Academy, they are expected to follow the curriculum described in Table III.1.

This curriculum requires four years of a foreign language--specifically, Spanish. Academy planners believe familiarity with Spanish will benefit students entering health care professions. Students are instructed in Latin during the second semester of their senior year to prepare them for the medical and pharmacological terms they will encounter in college or at work. Considerable emphasis is also placed on mathematics and science--four years of each are required. This greatly exceeds the science and math graduation requirements of other high schools. As in other Academies, classwork in each subject area attempts to introduce health-related topics and examples. For example, in the Health Academy at Martin Luther King, Jr. High School, Spanish teachers use a workbook entitled Spanish for Medical Personnel.

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[1] Prior to this time, all Academy enrollments began in 10th grade, matching the grades served by the Philadelphia high schools. Subsequently, all Academies and the school district itself expanded high schools from three to four grades.

Table III.1

EXPECTED COURSE SEQUENCE
PHILADELPHIA HEALTH ACADEMY

9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	12th Grade
English I	English II	English III	English IV
Spanish I	Spanish II	Spanish III	Spanish/ Latin
Algebra I	Geometry	Algebra II	Elementary Functions
Biology	Chemistry	Physics	Advanced Placement Chemistry or Advanced Placement Biology for Health Majors
World History	American History	Social Studies	
Physical Education	Physical Education/ Health	Physical Education/ Health	
Reading	Typing/ Computers	SAT Preparation	

The program for the Health Academy is stringent and demanding. However, Academy advocates were adamant in their support for a program that would serve "at-risk" youth. According to James Ryan, who eventually became the first executive director of the Health Academy, the recruitment qualifications for students to enter the Academy were based on an assessment of the minimum reading and mathematics knowledge graduates would need to enter a postsecondary health training program. Admissions personnel told Academy planners that students would need to test at 9th- or 10th-grade levels to qualify for their programs. Health Academy planners then worked backwards and determined that students entering the Health Academy would need to read at the 4th- or 5th-grade level to meet the college admission standards four years later. As Ryan points out, without the rigorous program Academy students follow, it is unlikely that most participants would have qualified for collegiate-level training had they remained in the regular school system.

The Health Academy is an interesting adaptation of the general Academy model. As Carole Hamer, the new executive director of the Health Academy puts it, "the other Academies infused a vocational training program with academics. In the Health Academy, we infused an academic curriculum with a vocational orientation."

Getting the Health Academy under way was not achieved without difficulties. Once the planning committee had sketched out its program and gained the support of health care professionals and school officials, it was left with the task of actually setting up the Academy. Martin Luther King, Jr. High School was selected as the site. Teachers were recruited for the Academy by Ryan and Barbara Goldsmith of the school district. The Health Academy enrolled its first class of 34 students midway through the fall of 1982. In a push to get the Academy under way, students were recruited directly from classrooms. Academy teachers had little definite information that they could give students about the Academy and little screening of this initial class was done. It was expected that many from this class would exit the program before graduating.

After the initial year, students were recruited in a more orderly fashion. The lead teacher, John Pizzollo, spoke before assemblies at feeder junior high schools, encouraging students to apply to the Academy. Pizzollo and other teachers emphasize the "separateness" of the Academy. As one teacher put it, parents like sending their children here because it is like a private school. In fact, even the Health Academy brochure underscores this attribute of the Academy, noting: "Its core of teachers provides personal academic attention and counseling to a small student body over a four-year period, much as in a private school."

Health Academy teachers at Martin Luther King, Jr. reported some difficulty recruiting students because of a problem unrelated to the program. MLK had been moved to the site of a former junior high school because asbestos had been found in its original building. Many students who might have been attracted to the Academy were reluctant to enroll because they didn't want to attend a "junior high school."

The Health Academy curriculum requires that students take one more period of classwork each day than students enrolled in the comprehensive host high school. "Zero period," as this extra classtime is called, begins 50 minutes before the other students arrive. Despite this extra period at the beginning of the day, most Academy students maintain their after-school commitment to extracurricular activities--plays, sports, clubs. In addition, students also have the opportunity to take specially designed courses, which are offered at the school by the local community college.

As the first Health Academy class completed its senior year, 17 of the original 34 students graduated from the program. Another nine students were expected to graduate from the regular high school. Although this indicates a higher level of attrition than is generally reported by other Academy programs, both Ryan and Pizzollo noted that this class had been the pilot and that recruitment had been haphazard. They expect considerably improved results in years to come.

The postgraduation intentions of this class distinguish them from most graduating seniors. Of the 17 Academy graduates, 14 had been accepted and were planning to attend area colleges and universities, including one graduate who had received a five-year scholarship to Drexel University; and three planned to enter the armed forces. Nine of the graduates expected to pursue health care or allied health training.

Continuing Issues

The Philadelphia Health Academy appears to have a strong foundation on which to build. It has weathered the initial implementation phase quite well and has recently expanded to a second site at Overbrook High School. Although the Academy continues to experiment with new curricula, issues and approaches, the basic Health Academy approach seems well-established. From the initial results of its first graduating classes, the Academy has begun to meet its goal of preparing students to enter college-level programs and pursue allied health training.

The major problem facing the Health Academy is financial support. More than one-half of the supporting organizations of the Health Academy are nonprofit health institutions that are themselves competing for funds. As a group, these organizations can contribute little financial assistance to the Academy. As a result, a large share of the Academy costs are being borne by the school district and the Philadelphia High School Academies Association. The need for a stable source of Health Academy support is at the top of the agenda of the new Health Academy board chair.

IV. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ACADEMIES

The Philadelphia High School Academies seek to achieve two goals--dropout prevention and improved preparation for employment. This chapter analyzes the Academies' ability to meet these goals by quantitatively assessing the Business Academies. We have restricted our assessment to Business Academy graduates for two reasons. First, each of the other Academies had compelling grounds for not undertaking a survey of their graduates[2] and the small size of the graduating classes for each made it unlikely that we would be able to obtain reasonable indicators of job market experience. Second, the district's regular business education program provided a sound comparison group for a study of the Business Academies. Therefore, the findings in this chapter cannot technically be ascribed to the other Academies. However, as the previous chapter has shown, the Business Academy employs the Academy model in its most developed and, at present, best-executed form. Thus, the findings presented in this chapter are a good reflection of the potential of the Academy model.

The analyses are based on two research efforts undertaken by P/PV as part of its assessment of the Academies. The first is a study of all students entering 10th grade in the Business Academy in 1981. Records of these students were traced to determine each student's final completion status--graduated or dropped out before graduating. Results from this analysis provide evidence of the Academies' "holding power."

The second research effort was a telephone survey designed to collect retrospective job market experience information from a sample of Business Academy graduates and two comparison samples--(non-Academy) business curriculum graduates and graduates of other programs in the three schools hosting the Business Academies. All individuals surveyed graduated in 1985 and were surveyed in late 1986 and early 1987 about their experiences in employment and education in the 18 months since graduation.

RESEARCH DESIGN

P/PV adopted two different strategies in assessing the Academies. First, to consider the ability of the Academies to affect dropout rates among Academy students, P/PV conducted a search of school records to ascertain the school terminations of a single cohort of Business Academy students. Using school district records, all students entering the Business Academy in 1981 were tracked from the time of their enrollment to the time they left the school district by graduating, withdrawing or dropping out. Since students do not ordinarily declare a major in the 10th grade, we could not develop a comparison group of non-Academy business majors. Instead, we compared our results to graduation rates for the general school population.

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[2] As previously noted, the Health Academy did not graduate its first class until June 1986; 1985 Automotive and Mechanical Sciences graduates from West Philadelphia High School had only been in the Academy for their senior year. Students who had been in the Automotive Academy at Simon Gratz had not participated in the Academy during their senior year. Finally, the Electrical Academy graduated only 17 students in 1985.

Second, to assess the effect of the Academy program on employability among graduates of the Academy, P/PV conducted a retrospective survey of recent graduates to determine their job market experience in the first 18 months after graduation. For this part of the analysis, P/PV adopted a comparison group strategy. The principle behind a comparison group is identifying a group whose experiences will closely approximate those the treatment group would have had in the absence of the treatment program. Comparison of outcomes between the two groups yields an estimate of the program's impact. The quality and validity of this impact estimate depends on whether the experiences of the comparison group accurately reflect what would have happened to the participants had they not participated.

Two comparison groups were identified in order to assess the Academy's program impacts. The first was the group of all students in the same school at the same time as program participants who were not in a business program. A second comparison group was the group of students from the same school who had participated in a similar vocational program. Thus, the findings for Academy graduates were compared with two other groups of high school graduates--graduates of a business education curriculum and graduates from other programs in the same school. Business students are similar to Academy students in that they receive similar curricula, while the graduates from other curricula are similar to Academy students in that in the absence of the program, Academy students most likely would have been among this group of nonspecializing students. Details of these two assessments and their findings are presented in the following sections.

HIGH SCHOOL TERMINATION STATUS OF 1981 ACADEMY STUDENTS

For this part of the analysis, P/PV wanted to assess the ability of the Academies to keep students in school. For a variety of reasons,[3] it was impossible to develop an adequate comparison group for entering cohorts of Academy students and P/PV collected information only on students entering the Business Academy in 1981. Thus, the results speak only to the levels of graduation and attrition experienced by the Business Academy and are not compared with any other Academies' graduation and attrition rates.[4]

Data were collected using original Academy class lists at the three high schools with Business Academy programs in 1981--South Philadelphia, University City and William Penn. Using centralized student data records, each student's completion status was obtained.[5]

To determine whether students graduated from the Academy program, graduation lists prepared by the Business Academy were consulted. Students appearing on this list were counted as Business Academy graduates. Students reported as having graduated by the school district but not appearing on the lists were counted as other program graduates.

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[3] Specifically, central school district records are not organized in a manner that would allow us to identify and access information solely on Academy students. Academy enrollment records are kept by the individual schools and individual Academies only. Moreover, these enrollment records do not contain academic information that would form the basis for identifying the characteristics of an appropriate comparison group. In particular, it would be impossible to identify students who would have enrolled in another vocational program, since this decision may be made as late as the 11th grade. By that time, some students would have dropped out of school.

[4] It should be noted the 1981 was the year in which the Academies began to reexamine their structure and mission. During that year a full-time school district liaison to the Academies was appointed and a series of new policies and procedures were developed.

[5] Several problems were encountered in this process. First, records could not be accessed for a few students born before January 1966. However, review of graduation lists from the Academy reduced this number. The nine whose records were still unavailable are reported in the table as "No Listing," and have been excluded from the base for calculations. In addition, one student left the Philadelphia School District and is excluded from the base. Finally, three students had central records that had not been updated to reflect a final status. These are listed as "Undetermined Final Status." The degree of imprecision introduced by these 13 cases with missing data is ± 3.4 percent for either the graduation rate or the dropout rate.

Table IV.1 summarizes the results of a review of the completion or attrition status of all 10th-grade students enrolled in the Business Academy in the fall of 1981 for whom data could be obtained.[6] Of the 145 students for whom we have any information, 76.6 percent graduated. Of these, the large majority (94 of 111 or 85%) were Academy graduates. Thirty-one students (21.4%) were reported as having dropped out without graduating.[7]

Assumptions based on the results reported in Table IV.1 must be tempered, since the study is based on a cohort analysis that begins with a 10th-grade class. Academy programs have since expanded to include 9th-graders, so it is likely that some increase in cumulative dropout rates will occur. Nationwide dropout rates are especially high between 9th- and 10th-grades and level off in the last two years of high school. As Academies seek to serve 9th- through 12th-graders, they will likely experience higher attrition rates.

This analysis demonstrates that the Academy, despite its claims of virtually no attrition, is unable to ensure that all students entering the program will eventually graduate, either from the Academy or some other program. However, the 21.4 percent dropout rate for this cohort compares favorably with estimates of the citywide high school dropout rate from Philadelphia public schools. Recent information released by the school district suggests that the dropout rate for all high school students, including those in specialized magnet and college preparatory programs, is approximately 33 percent. However, any comparison of our finding with this rate must be viewed with caution, since the methods of computation vary.

As previously described, our estimate of completion and dropout rates for the Business Academy relies on data for a single cohort that entered the Academy program in Fall 1981. Data was obtained by tracing their records until a final termination status (graduated or dropped out) was found. In contrast, the school district rates are based on a synthetic estimate using rates for all 9th- to 12th-grade students enrolled in the high schools during a single (1985-86) school year. The school district esti-

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[6] Prior to 1985, all Philadelphia high schools served only students in the 10th through 12th grades. Beginning in 1985, some high schools expanded to include 9th-graders. By 1985, however, all Academy programs had 9th grades.

[7] In order for a student to be classified as having dropped out, the school attendance office must ascertain by personal visit that the student has dropped out and must make an attempt to determine the student's reason for leaving school.

Table IV.1

COMPLETION AND ATTRITION RATES
AMONG 1981 10TH-GRADE BUSINESS ACADEMY COHORT

	Number of Students	Percentage
Total Enrollment	145[a]	100.0%
Graduated	111	76.6
From Business Academy	94	64.8
From other program	17	11.7
Dropped Out from School[b]		
Undetermined	3	2.1

[a] The Academy enrollment list included 155 students. However, no information was centrally available for nine students born before January 1966 and one student who transferred from the district.

[b] It was impossible to determine from school district records whether students dropped out of school directly from the Academy. However, review of records by Academy officials indicate that only one or two students dropped out of school from the Academy between 1982 and 1986. Most dropouts returned to the regular school for some time before leaving.

mate combines the completion and dropout rates for each grade to derive four-year completion and dropout rates. The different methods used in computing these rates, the inclusion of 9th-graders in the school district estimates and the different time periods from which the data were drawn combine to limit conclusions we can draw based on this comparison.

As indicated in earlier chapters, the Academy recruits students who have below average grades and score between the 20th and 50th percentiles within the district on standardized tests. Students are primarily selected for the Academy because they are at risk of dropping out of high school based on poor academic achievement and disaffection with school, though they must also express interest in the vocational area. According to Academy records, 73 percent of Academy students tested below the 25th national percentile in either reading comprehension or math skills tests at the time of enrollment. More than a third (35%) tested below the 25th percentile in both. Although there likely is some self-selection bias in joining the Academy, the program's graduation rate is encouraging.

POSTGRADUATION JOB MARKET EXPERIENCES OF ACADEMY GRADUATES

P/PV's effort to assess the effect of the Academy model on postgraduation experiences involved surveying 367 1985 graduates from the three Philadelphia public high schools hosting full Business Academy programs.[8] The survey sought data concerning the postgraduation educational and employment experiences of these students in the 18 months since they had graduated. Three samples of graduates were surveyed--Business Academy graduates, graduates of other business education programs and graduates of other types of programs. All students graduating from either the Academy or the business education programs in each school were sampled. A random sample that represented almost one-third (29.6%) of other curriculum graduates constituted the third group.

Both comparison groups--the business education program graduates and graduates of other programs--provide useful indicators by which we can gauge the effect of the Academy, but both also have inherent limitations as comparison groups. The "other curriculum" group appears to be a natural comparison point for Academy graduates since, in the absence of the program, most Academy students would probably have been in this group. However, there are two likely important differences between Academy graduates and this group. First, according to Academy selection criteria, Academy students are drawn from academically troubled students, who were performing below grade, with a large majority testing below the 25th percentile. On average, therefore, the sample of "other curriculum" graduates can be expected to do better academically. Second, students in an Academy are distinct from "other curriculum" graduates in the type of training they have received.

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[8] The three schools--University City, South Philadelphia and William Penn--were the only sites graduating Business Academy students in 1985. The other two Academy sites--Strawberry Mansion and Roxborough--began operation in 1983 and 1986 respectively and have not yet graduated any students.

If one believes that performance in school is an indicator of performance in the workplace, the implication of the academic difference between Academy and "other curriculum" graduates is that Academy graduates will not do as well in job situations. However, the difference in training received by Academy graduates and "other curriculum" graduates may translate into Academy graduates' work experiences being considerably different. Specifically, given the emphasis of the Business Academy on employment, graduates may be more likely than other students to obtain jobs related to their training. The latter implication suggested the need for another comparison group composed of graduates of a similar vocational training program.

The second comparison group is composed of graduates who took a business education curriculum while enrolled. These graduates were surveyed because they had taken courses similar to those of Academy graduates. In fact, Business Academy students are officially counted as in the business education curriculum when schools report vocational education enrollments to state education officials. The business education program graduates are also a useful comparison group because they are likely to be in competition with Academy graduates for entry-level positions.

However, just as "other curriculum" graduates differ from the treatment group, comparison between Academy and business education vocational students graduates must be approached with caution. Entry into any vocational education program in Philadelphia, including the business education program, is limited to more academically able students. Again, we can expect graduates of these programs to do better than Academy graduates.

In all, the two comparison groups are imperfect but useful. The business education program comparison seeks to control for the type of training students receive; the "other curriculum" comparison seeks to obtain some estimate of what Academy students may have done had they not entered the Academy. However, because Academy students are selected on the basis of lower achievements, academic comparisons between Academy graduates' performance and the performance of either comparison group will be biased against finding positive effects from Academy participation. Thus, if no impacts (or even negative impacts) are found, it will be impossible to distinguish whether the study is evidence of an ineffective program or of the limitations of the research design. On the other hand, positive findings will reflect impacts assessed against a considerably more stringent standard.

The survey[9] of the participants and comparison groups was designed to collect information about four principal topics:

- Postsecondary educational experience;
- Postsecondary employment experience, including detailed information on the three most recent jobs the respondent had held since graduation;
- An assessment of job search strategies used the last time the respondent looked for employment; and
- Respondent characteristics.

FINDINGS FROM THE GRADUATE SURVEY

The remainder of this chapter reports findings from the graduate survey about their job market experiences. Findings are reported separately for each sample--Academy graduates, Business Education graduates and "other curriculum" graduates. Differences between Academy graduates and the other two samples that are statistically significant at a 5 percent level are indicated in accompanying tables by an asterisk (*).

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[9] The survey was conducted between mid-November 1986 and mid-March 1987 by Response Analysis Corporation (Princeton, New Jersey). Prior to the initiation of the survey, personalized letters were sent to the last known address of all graduates in the sample, introducing the study and notifying them that they would soon be contacted for an interview. A second letter was sent to all nonrespondents during the fourth week of the field period. The survey relied primarily on telephone contact and interviewing but was supplemented in later stages by in-person interviewing. In instances where the respondent was unavailable but a knowledgeable individual could be identified to provide basic data on the respondent, information was collected from a qualified proxy; data were collected in this manner in 17 cases. The most frequent proxy was the respondent's mother. Appendix IV.1 summarizes the survey field experience. A total of 367 cases were completed, representing an overall response rate of 70.4 percent. Completion rates were virtually identical across the three samples.

Analyses are presented in the following order:

- Summary demographic descriptions of the samples;
- Indicators of activity (employment and/or enrollment in postsecondary education) since graduation;
- Characteristics of postsecondary education activities;
- Characteristics of employment activities; and
- Job search activities.

Characteristics of the Samples at Time of Survey

Table IV.2 compares the three samples on a selected set of demographic variables. Comparative information for the graduating classes of the three schools is reported for sex and race/ethnicity.

The samples vary considerably in sex and race. Only one-fifth of Academy and business education graduates are male; in contrast, almost half of the other graduates are male. Note that, among the universe of all graduates from the three high schools, males represented only 37 percent of all graduates. This is consistent with data reported by the Philadelphia Business Academy. Business education curricula, either at the Academy or in traditional vocational programs attract more females than males. The curriculum's emphasis on clerical training, introductory accounting and secretarial/stenographic skills tends to limit its appeal for males.

Black students represent over 90 percent of the Academy sample. The distribution of black and white business education graduates more closely approximates the racial characteristics of the schools' graduating classes. Asian students are not represented in the Academy sample and are also underrepresented among the sample of business education graduates. The findings are consistent with Academy reports, which indicate that 85 to 90 percent of Academy students are black.

The samples shared similar characteristics on several variables. At the time of the interview, the vast majority were single, a large portion were living at home with parents, and about one in five reported having children.

Activities Since Graduation

Table IV.3 presents the average number of months Academy and other graduates were engaged in either employment or education in

Table IV.2

COMPARISON OF SAMPLES AND UNIVERSE ON SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC VALUES

	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates	All Graduates from the 3 High Schools
Percent Male	17.3	20.5	47.1*	37.3
Race/Ethnicity				
Black	90.7%	78.7%*	74.7%*	74.6%
White	6.7	19.7	10.0	14.1
Hispanic	2.7	0.8	3.5	3.0
Asian	0.0	0.8	11.8	8.3
Percent Living at Home (with parents)	85.3	79.5	85.9	NA
Percent Single	97.3	94.3	95.9	NA
Percent with Children	23.0	21.3	16.5	NA
Total	75	122	170	1,122

*Indicates the value of the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

NA = not available.

Table IV.3

AVERAGE MONTHS ENGAGED IN WORK OR SCHOOL DURING 18 MONTHS FOLLOWING GRADUATION

	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates
Employed or in School	11.83	10.90	9.80*
Employed	11.02	9.38	8.32*
In School	3.05	3.65	3.33
Simultaneously Employed and in School	2.24	2.13	1.85
Sample Size	75	122	170

*Indicates the value of the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

the 18 months following graduation. Academy and business education graduates spent more time either in school or employment than "other curriculum" graduates. While no statistically significant difference is apparent between Academy and business education graduates in number of months engaged, the difference between the Academy and "other curriculum" graduates is significant. The key factor in this difference is the nearly three-month advantage Academy students hold in time employed since graduation. No statistically significant differences between the groups were observed for months of school enrollment, but the significant difference in the number of months led to a significant difference overall.

Table IV.4 presents the employment or educational status of respondents from graduation to time of interview. For all samples, between 19 and 24 percent reported being neither employed nor enrolled in education at the time of the interview; however, only 5 percent reported not having worked or enrolled in an educational program since graduation. Academy graduates were more likely to be employed or in school at the time of the survey than either of the other samples but neither difference is statistically significant.

There are important differences in how Academy graduates and the comparison group respondents were engaged at the time of the survey. Graduates were divided into two groups based on their current activities. The first group includes those who reported principally being enrolled in school (who might also work part time). The second group includes those who reported principally being employed (who might also attend school part time). Academy graduates were significantly more likely to be principally engaged as workers than "other curriculum" graduates and somewhat more likely to be engaged as workers than graduates of a business vocational model. More than 60 percent of all 1985 Academy graduates reported being principally engaged in work at the time of the survey. (An additional 8% worked part time while attending school.) Fifty-five percent were employed full time.[10] In contrast, slightly more than half (53%) of the business education graduates and only 42 percent of other graduates were primarily engaged in work 18 months after graduation. (An additional 10% of business education graduates and 13 percent of "other curriculum" graduates reported working while attending school). Forty-seven percent of the business education graduates

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[10] Respondents reported the average number of hours they worked each week. Full-time work was defined as working an average of 30 or more hours per week. Part-time work was defined as working fewer than 30 hours per week. In considering enrollment, respondents were asked to indicate whether they were enrolled part time or full time.

Table IV.4

EMPLOYMENT AND ENROLLMENT STATUS BY SAMPLE AT TIME OF SURVEY

	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates
Unengaged At Time of Survey	19.0%	23.7%	24.1%
Idle Since Graduation	5.4	4.9	5.3
Employed or Enrolled in Past	14.6	18.8	18.8
Engaged At Time of Survey	81.0	76.3	75.9
Engaged Principally as Student	17.8	22.1	35.4*
Engaged Principally as Worker	63.6	53.3	42.4*
Sample Size	75	122	170

*Indicates the value of the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

and 35 percent of the "other curriculum" graduates were employed full-time when the survey was taken.

Conversely, Business Academy graduates were somewhat less likely than business education graduates and significantly less likely than "other curriculum" graduates to be enrolled as a student at the time of the survey. Only 18 percent of Academy graduates characterized themselves as primarily students. About 22 percent of business education graduates and more than 35 percent of other graduates were engaged primarily in educational activities 18 months after graduation.

This section suggests that Academy graduates were engaged in the job market with greater frequency than "other curriculum" graduates who completed school with them in 1985 and were employed at approximately the same rate as graduates from a traditional business vocational program. Based on these data, the Academy appears to achieve its mission of preparing its graduates for sustained entry into the labor force. Although Academy graduates did not as a rule shun postsecondary education (see Table IV.4), employment was their primary focus 18 months after graduation.

Characteristics of Postsecondary Education Activities

While Academy graduates were more likely than other graduates to be employed 18 months after graduation and to have sustained that employment during that time, many engaged in some type of postsecondary education. Table IV.5 summarizes the educational experiences of those from all samples who enrolled in postsecondary education classes since graduation.

Academy graduates reported the lowest incidence of enrollment (46.7%) since graduation. In addition, among Academy graduates who had ever enrolled, fewer (68%) enrolled on a full-time basis. Academy graduates and business education graduates shared a number of similar educational experiences that distinguish them from "other curriculum" graduates. Specifically, both overwhelmingly attended programs located in Philadelphia and tended to enroll in business programs of relatively short duration with the intention of obtaining a certificate. Graduates from non-business high school curricula were more likely to attend schools outside of Philadelphia, following a curriculum other than business in longer-term programs that culminate in a bachelor's degree.

These findings are consonant with P/PV's observations and with discussions with Academy staff and students. While most Academy graduates are oriented toward employment, many have taken advantage of educational assistance provided by their employer. As a result, they tend to enroll on a part-time basis in

Table IV.5

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION EXPERIENCE FROM EACH GROUP AMONG THOSE EVER ENROLLED

	Among Those Ever Enrolled in School		
	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates
Enrolled Full-Time	67.6%	75.7%	82.6%
Remain enrolled	65.7%	51.4%	64.2%
Philadelphia-based Institution	91.4%	90.0%	74.3%*
Business Curriculum	74.3%	62.3%	38.7%*
Average Program Length (in weeks)	89.3	78.2	120.6*
Expected Degree			
Certificate	54.3%	48.5%	35.9%*
Associate	31.4	33.3	19.4
Bachelor	14.3	15.2	42.7*
None	0.0	3.0	1.9
Total Number Ever Enrolled (Percent of Total Sample)	35 (46.7)	70 (57.4)	109 (64.1*)

*Indicates the value of the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

Philadelphia institutions, pursuing employment-related studies and selecting a certificate or associates degree.

Characteristics of Employment Activities

Table IV.6 summarizes the work experience of respondents in the 18 months following graduation. All employment experiences, including multiple-job information and information from respondents who were unemployed at the time of interview, were used in these analyses.

In general, the findings for the total employment experience indicate that Academy graduates did not differ from either business education or "other curriculum" graduates on many basic employment indicators, including average hours worked per week and starting and ending pay rates, and the number of different companies for whom they had worked. However, Academy graduates were twice as likely to have been employed by a Philadelphia Business Academy corporate supporter as graduates in the other groups. Academy graduates were also more likely to have been promoted in any job since graduation--significantly more than other business education graduates. However, this finding may be misleading since it is possible that Academy graduates may have been employed at a lower level position than other graduates: despite the higher incidence of promotions, Academy graduates do not have higher wages.

Employment characteristics of graduates who were working at the time of the survey are presented in Table IV.7. Among graduates employed 18 months after graduation, roughly three-quarters of both Academy and business education graduates were employed full time. Fewer (63%) graduates from other curricula were employed full time. Although this difference is substantial, it is not statistically significant.[11] The average number of hours worked per week, however, did not vary significantly across the three groups. Finally, while employed Academy graduates reported earning an average of $4.90 per hour in their current jobs, their pay rates did not significantly differ from those of other graduates.

Some differences in employment characteristics do distinguish the three groups. First, while both Academy and business education

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[11] Restricting these analyses only to employed graduates reduces the total number of cases used in analyses. This reduction decreases the likelihood that statistically significant differences will be observed. In consequence, the following discussion of current employment information focuses on trends in the data and notes statistically significant differences as they occur.

Table IV.6

SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF JOB MARKET EXPERIENCE SINCE GRADUATION BY SAMPLE

	Among Those Ever Employed Since Graduation		
	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates
Average Number of Hours Per Week	34.0	32.8	32.2
Average Starting Hourly Pay at First Job	$ 3.83	$ 4.00	$ 4.03
Total Hourly Pay Increase Since Graduation	$ 0.90	$ 1.11	$ 0.65
Ever Worked for PBA Supporter	51.6%	22.5%*	26.5%*
Ever Promoted Within a Company	38.1%	23.8%*	30.2%
Average Number of Different Companies Employing Respondent Since Graduation	1.9	1.9	1.8
Sample Size	63	101	136

*Indicates the value for the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

Table IV.7

CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPLOYMENT 18 MONTHS AFTER GRADUATION AMONG WORKING GRADUATES BY SAMPLE

	Among Those Employed at Time of Survey		
	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates
Employed full time	77%	74%	63%
Average Hours Worked per week	35.5	34.4	33.8
Employed by PBA Supporter	37%	17%*	12%*
Employed in Philadelphia	90%	90%	78%
Promoted within this Company	41%	25%	30%
Occupational Distribution			
Clerical	54%	53%	25%*
Service	15	21	29
Sales	8	8	19
Other	23	18	27
Current Hourly Wage	$ 4.90	$ 5.14	$ 4.96
Sample Size	53	77	93

*Indicates the value of the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

graduates were equally likely to be employed in Philadelphia, employed Academy graduates were again significantly more likely to be employed by Philadelphia Business Academy corporate supporters than the employed graduates from the other two groups.

This finding indicates that one benefit of graduating from the Academy is access to the Academy's supporting companies. Since these companies represent many of the "blue chip" employers in the city, this advantage is substantial.

Second, employed Academy graduates led graduates from the other groups in rate of promotion in their current jobs. Forty-one percent reported having been promoted since they began working with the current employer. However, this higher promotion rate is not statistically significant and, again, did not translate into higher wages for Academy students. Finally, the majority of both Academy and business education graduates held clerical jobs, while the jobs of "other curriculum" graduates were more evenly distributed across occupations.

Job Search Activities

One of the central objectives of the Philadelphia Business Academy is to teach students how to search for a job. Table IV.8 reports the steps that respondents took the last time they looked for a position. In general, Academy graduates used each of the different job search techniques described more frequently than graduates in the other two groups. Academy students were much more likely to use applications, past employment contacts and direct contacts with employers in their search than other graduates. In addition, Academy graduates used other techniques, such as private and public employment services, visits to personnel offices, reading help wanted pages and contacting high school teachers, as frequently as other graduates. More important, Academy graduates used significantly more techniques in searching for a job than graduates in either of the other groups. The large number of job search strategies used by these students indicates that Business Academy graduates were persistent in their job search, suggesting a high level of motivation to find employment.

One surprising finding was that few Academy graduates (19.7%) said they had contacted the Business Academy office in their most recent job search. Despite the key role that this office plays in preparing students for jobs during high school, graduates do not appear to rely on the office for continued assistance after graduation.

Table IV.8

JOB SEARCH ACTIVITIES USED THE LAST TIME RESPONDENT LOOKED FOR A JOB

	Among Those Who Ever Looked For a Job		
	Academy Graduates	Business Education Graduates	Other Curriculum Graduates
The last time you looked for a job did you . . .			
Complete a job application?	98.6%	89.8%*	88.0%*
Look in the help wanted pages of the newspaper?	70.4%	62.7%	56.0%*
Call a company to find out if a job was available?	73.2%	57.6%*	54.4%*
Go to a company personnel office to find out if a job was available?	54.9%	57.6%	53.5%
Mail or drop off a resume to a company?	52.9%	33.9%*	33.9%*
Contact the company where you worked during high school?	39.4%	28.4%	11.5%*
Go to a state or city employment center?	29.6%	33.9%	30.4%
Go to a private employment service?	23.9%	13.6%	18.0%
Contact a teacher or someone at your high school to help you find a job?	21.1%	17.8%	15.8%
Average Number of Activities Reported	4.6%	3.9%*	3.5%*
Contact the Business Academy office about finding a job?	19.7%	N/A	N/A
Sample Size	71	118	159

*Indicates the value of the indicated group is statistically different from that of Academy students at a 0.05 level of significance.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, findings from two analyses of the impact of the Academy model on students and graduates have been presented. In the first analysis, completion and dropout rates were determined by reviewing the school records of students that enrolled in the Business Academy in 1981. This analysis indicates that approximately three-quarters of the entering cohort graduated. This is comparable to the 67 percent completion rate for the total district, which, as we noted earlier, includes 9th-graders, who were excluded from participation in the Business Academy. We consider this a high completion rate, especially when one considers that Business Academy students are generally believed to be a dropout-prone group for whom a much lower graduation rate might be predicted.

The second, more extensive analysis was based on a retrospective survey of the employment and educational activities of 1985 Academy graduates, business education graduates and graduates from other curricula. The findings from this analysis suggest that Academy graduates do as well as or better than graduates from business and other curricula on most employment indicators. That Academy graduate performance is on par with or exceeds that of the two comparison groups is important, since both groups were characterized as being more academically able than Academy graduates.

Among other important findings were that Academy graduates are more likely than members of the comparison groups to be employed 18 months after graduation and appear to have considerably greater access to Business Academy corporate sponsors as employees. Finally, Academy graduates use a wider variety of employment search activities when looking for new jobs than other graduates. This suggests that their Academy training has broadened their understanding of effective strategies for securing employment.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Inclusion of the Philadelphia High School Academies in P/PV's study of school/business collaborations presented an opportunity to examine a model that was different from other sites in several important respects:

- In existence since 1969, the Academies had an established history and record, and could shed light on factors that contributed to the institutionalization and growth of a collaborative effort. Simultaneously, their duration and need to evolve allowed observation of the decisions and changes that confront a mature program.

- Businesses are involved in a variety of ways and share responsibility for Academy functioning. Business people provide advice on management and curriculum development, help prepare students for the work environment and offer jobs to youth who are ready. The Academies offer researchers the opportunity to look at such examples of sustained business involvement, to determine how they may have influenced the program's development and to categorize the nature of firms that choose to become and to remain involved.

- The Academies represent a structured model of school/business collaboration that has been used in a range of schools within a single system. The program has been tried in a number of schools and a number of vocational areas. The extent to which the model has been transferred successfully to other schools within the district or imported to other environments as a finished product has implications for replication of collaborative programs.

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE ACADEMY MODEL

Findings from P/PV's study of the Academies demonstrate that the Academies' institutionalization and growth within the school district is largely due to the quality of the model. Its structure and operation incorporate many of the features that are generally considered effective in keeping at-risk youth in school and in helping them obtain further training or employment. These factors include the Academies' small size and the amount of personal attention provided to students both by teachers and by business people. In addition, the careful integration of academic and vocational curricula helps youth understand the importance of school in preparing them for later life. Finally, the knowledge that meeting academic and attendance requirements will lead to jobs is a significant motivator.

P/PV's study of the impact of the Business Academy on students and graduates shows that approximately three-quarters of the youth who entered the Academies in 1981 graduated three years later. When this is compared with estimated school district completion rates of approximately 65 percent, the Business Academy graduates appear to have performed well. The Academies' graduation rate is even more impressive when the characteristics of the population are taken into account. Academy students are recruited based on records of poor academic achievement, low motivation or poor attendance--many are students teachers identified as likely to drop out of school. A large majority test in the lowest quarter of nationally normed tests in both reading comprehension and math skills.

P/PV's graduate survey shows that Business Academy students were well-equipped for the working world when they graduated from high school. The 81 percent who were either employed or enrolled in educational programs at the time of the survey (a higher percentage than either comparison group) reported longer periods of employment and greater frequency of promotion than those in the comparison groups. In addition, more than one-half of Academy graduates worked for companies identified as Business Academy supporters, including many of the most desirable firms in the city. It is unlikely that most students would have even applied for employment in these companies in the absence of the Academy. Academy graduates also reported more effective use of job search strategies in finding jobs than other graduates. Academy graduates, however, did not report higher wages or working more hours per week on average. On these measures, Academy graduates closely approximate the experiences of business education and "other curriculum" graduates.

The primary weakness of the Academies is the variability in implementation observed across schools. Even within the same city and school district, differences in level of support from administrators, teachers and business people affect the Academy's ability to deliver education, job preparation and training of consistently high quality. This variability has affected recruitment and placement efforts and, in several cases, has jeopardized the continued operation of the Academy. Although the degree of autonomy enjoyed by directors and lead teachers is a bonus, in that it grants them a level of control unusual for school programs, it may also lead to poor decisions and choices of focus for individual Academies. The inconsistent quality of the Academies indicates the need for some limits on autonomy and for more accountability, particularly in light of the superintendent's desire to expand the program. At the same time, the program's variability also indicates the importance of allowing schools and businesses that are implementing the Academy model to participate in adapting it to their requirements.

IMPACT OF ACADEMY EXPANSION

After the school district made public its desire to expand the Academy program to serve larger numbers of at-risk youth in Philadelphia, the PHSAA debated whether the existing Academy model as well as its structure and management can handle the 5,000 youth that Superintendent Clayton seeks to enroll. In mid-1986, the PHSAA engaged the Conservation Company, a Philadelphia consulting firm, to determine when, if and how the proposed expansion should occur.

Although the conclusion of the Conservation Company's study was that Academy capacity could be doubled to serve 3,600 students within the next five years, it also determined that "both day-to-day operations and long-term planning and development are inadequate to meet the demands of the existing program, much less a larger one" (the Conservation Company: 1987:i). Many of the report's subsequent recommendations address the management and budgetary changes that must be made to achieve the proposed goal. The report also suggests a selection process for developing new Academies; selection of vocational areas has been made quite casually in the past, with the possible exception of the Health Academy. The recommendation is to develop new Academies that match areas of most likely employment growth, a change that would improve the process and prepare graduates for the job market they will face.

The proposed expansion has placed the Academy's development at a crossroads. At a time when the seriousness of the dropout problem is forcing urban school districts to devise programs to convince youth of the benefits of remaining in school, often with substantial business involvement the Academies offer a tested model. But as the Academy looks toward possible expansion, many of its strongest supporters caution that the key aspects of the model, such as small class size and personal attention, must not be lost. In addition to the Conservation Company's finding that the current management structure does not appear adequate to meet the demands of a larger and more complex program, P/PV's assessment of current Academy operation reveals other areas that will require careful scrutiny and perhaps modification before the proposed expansion is implemented:

- Continued sensitivity to changes in the job market are important for successful education and training of Academy youth. The Academies that have effectively involved members of the business advisory committee in curriculum planning and job placement have been most successful. However, the process must be built into the operations of all Academies.

- The quality and currency of the equipment is important in programs that promote graduates to business as work-ready. Two of the Academies, the Automotive and the Business Academy, did not have adequate, up-to-date equipment at the time of our observations. The problem has been most serious for the Automotive Academy, which has been severely hampered by the lack of an adequately equipped in-school garage. If the school district budget does not allow purchase of up-to-date equipment, the Academies must find ways to increase contributions of funds or equipment by business.

- The Academies have benefited from the sponsorship of prominent Philadelphia businesses, who have offered extensive resources to Academy students and given them access to desirable entry-level jobs. However, faced by the need for more jobs and by the recognition that even after four years in the Academy program the skills of many students are not sufficient for large, high pressure firms, the Academies must make renewed efforts to better prepare students and broaden their recruitment outreach to include more medium-sized businesses. For such businesses, whose resources are frequently limited, involvement in the Academies may be restricted; for example, they may be able to offer jobs or advisors but not both.

- The responsibilities and requirements that are involved in housing an Academy have not always been met by school administrators. Although requirements have been clearly detailed, principals of the host high school have not always been eager to meet the scheduling and logistical requirements that acceptance of the Academy should impose.

- The most successful business involvement has taken place in Academies that involved businesses in Academy operation and did not restrict involvement to provision of jobs. The Academy model was developed with substantial business input and its implementation required not only funding but advice, curriculum review and interaction with students. The Automotive Academy had not fully implemented the model during the early years of the program and only recently has the director begun to enlist a full complement of support from participating businesses.

The Academies offer a comprehensive, tested model for reaching dropout-prone youth, helping them graduate from high school and obtain and keep a job. The Philadelphia School District has recognized the program's strengths and seeks to expand it to serve more youth. As part of the process, the school district and the management of the Academies must carefully assess what makes it work. Businesses and the schools should jointly plan and implement a model that is adequate to meet the new demands of an expanded program.

As this report was nearing completion, the Board of the PHSAA voted to implement changes in management and development for the Academies in preparation for an expansion of the Academies to serve 3,600 students by 1992. The Board accepted many of the recommendations made by the Conservation Company, including consolidation of certain administrative functions at the association level and a more streamlined management and fundraising process. In order to accomplish the expansion, the Board has launched a major recruitment campaign aimed at broadening support for the Academies within the Philadelphia business community.

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APPENDIX IV.1

PHILADELPHIA ACADEMIES GRADUATE STUDY
FINAL DISPOSITION CODES

	Academy Graduates		Business Education Curriculum Graduates		Other Curriculum Graduates		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Completed cases	75	72.8%	122	70.5%	170	69.4%	367	70.4
Refused	2	1.9	4	2.3	5	2.0	11	2.1
Phone number problems (disconnect, no listing, wrong number)	11	10.7	28	16.2	28	11.4	67	12.8
Unpublished number	5	4.8	6	3.5	3	1.2	14	2.7
Could not locate, other	6	5.8	11	6.3	34	13.9	51	9.8
No contact (had a lead but could not make contact with Respondent)	4	3.9	1	0.6	4	1.6	9	1.7
Missing telephone number call record sheet	0	0	1	0.6	1	0.4	2	0.4
Total[a]	103	99.9%	173	100.0%	245	99.9%	521	99.9%

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[a] Eight individuals were removed from the sample for the following reasons: did not graduate (4); deceased (2) and language barrier (2).

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

Tenneco/Jefferson Davis Business School Partnership
Houston, Texas

by Jennifer L. Tyler and David Gruber

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. HISTORY AND CONTEXT 3

III. THE PARTNERSHIP IN ACTION 9

IV. NATURE OF YOUTH SERVED 17

V. OUTCOMES 19

VI. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS 23

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A 27

APPENDIX B 29

I. INTRODUCTION

Tenneco, Inc., located in Houston, Texas, is one of the nation's major conglomerates whose international operations include hotels, real estate and shipbuilding in addition to oil and energy services. Jefferson Davis High School had one of the worst reputations in Houston for attendance, achievement and morale. The perhaps unlikely pairing of the two originated in 1981 with an approach to Tenneco by Volunteers in Public Schools (VIPS), an agency affiliated with the Houston Independent School District. With extensive experience in community service, Tenneco's own Volunteers In Assistance began the partnership by providing teaching support to the faculty and tutoring for the students of Jefferson Davis.

Tenneco has since expanded its scope of activities to include the Summer Jobs/Training Program. This component of the partnership is operated by Communities In Schools (CIS), a program modeled after the national Cities In Schools program that provides jobs, training and counseling to at-risk youth. The partnership is funded by Tenneco, whose promise to fund 100 summer jobs for students carried considerable weight in the decision to bring CIS into Jefferson Davis High School to manage the Summer Jobs/Training Program.

The overall goal of the partnership is to help upgrade the quality of education and to better prepare students to assume more productive roles as workers and citizens. Key features of this program and other partnership features include the following:

- A year-long course (40 hours) in preemployment training which meets twice a week after school;
- The placement of 100 students in seven-week summer jobs in nonprofit organizations, with each Friday reserved for in-school enrichment activities with CIS personnel;
- A requirement that participating students complete 20 hours of community volunteer work;
- The availability of CIS counselors to assist students with problems that might be interfering with their academic lives;
- The tutoring of students by approximately 25 Tenneco employees once or twice a week in subjects of the volunteers' own choosing; and

- The matching of 101 students with Tenneco volunteer mentors to give career guidance and act as role models during the seven-week summer jobs program.

The Tenneco/Jefferson Davis High School partnership was chosen for inclusion in the P/PV study of school/business collaborations for two reasons. The partnership has received national publicity and recognition as an example of the "adopt-a-school" model, and has continued to grow and expand. It was also a partnership designed to target disadvantaged youth: Tenneco had specifically requested to be paired with a school that was located in a predominantly Hispanic neighborhood and that had low levels of attendance and achievement. Jefferson Davis High, with a population of over 1,300 students, fit all of Tenneco's requirements.

This profile begins by describing the partnership's context and history. It continues with a description of the structure and operation of the various partnership components. The profile concludes with a summary of the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the partnership, along with implications for school/-business collaborations in general.

The profile was compiled by two members of the school/business collaboration research team who visited Houston for two days in the spring of 1986. During that time, they conducted interviews with program operators, teachers, volunteers and students; visited classes and observed other program activities. Program materials provided by the staff of Tenneco and VIPS were also reviewed.

II. HISTORY AND CONTEXT

The history of the Tenneco/Jefferson Davis partnership is part of the broader history of school/business partnerships in Houston. Tenneco, an energy services company with a diversified range of interests, has been involved in a wide variety of closely-related partnership efforts. These include citywide initiatives in cooperation with Houston schools, corporate sponsorship of a separate program known as Communities in Schools (CIS), and the partnership with Jefferson Davis High School. This chapter will discuss these efforts while considering the context in which partnerships developed and the history and implementation of major partnership programs. Although the chapter will present an overview of all partnership activities, its major emphasis is on the development of the Tenneco/Jefferson Davis link and the roles played by the school district, corporation and high school. The section concludes with a summary of the partnership as it was originally implemented and as it has been refined.

ORIGINS

Partnerships in the city began in 1980, at a time when there was considerable concern in the business community over the state of Houston schools. This concern had been building for some time, and was directly related to the decision to desegregate the schools.

As in many other cities, whites began abandoning the school system in the 1970s, leading to an increasing perception that public schools in the city were part of a substandard system delivering inadequate services to a largely minority population. By 1980, the schools--40 percent black, 40 percent white, 17 percent Hispanic and 3 percent Asian--were seen as producing graduates who could neither read nor write and were virtually unemployable even in the booming Houston economy. There was an additional perception, apparently widespread, that teachers were incompetent, working in schools because they could find no other employment.

As a response to this declining image, the school district established a magnet school program and opened its first magnet school in 1976. Magnets were intended to serve as both a mechanism for desegregation and a way to revitalize the reputation of the system. Although the district had tried to increase public involvement in the schools with the creation of the Volunteers in Public Schools (VIPS) office in 1970, the following 10 years saw no major effort to involve the business community in the system.

Business partnerships came about not through the direct efforts of the school district, but rather through a variety of outside organizations and committees. Three of these, in particular, played a role in partnership efforts: a volunteer committee of parents headed by a local activist, Sandy Sawyer; a nonprofit organization known as Child Care '76; and a group called the Houston Business Committee for Education.

Business partnerships began as a result of the efforts of Sawyer's committee of parents. Meeting with Superintendent Bill Reagan in 1980, Sawyer proposed business partnerships as a means to revitalize the schools and harness the unrealized potential of the business community. Reagan immediately offered support for the idea, seeing in the proposed partnerships a way to infuse resources into the newly created magnet schools, and a means to gain political support for two initiatives current that year--a bond issue and major education bills then before the legislature. The school district did not see partnerships as a way to bring more money into the schools. Houston's increasingly strong tax base adequately met most of the district's short-term needs.

The business community, too, was eager to enter into partnership projects. The "disaster" perception of the schools common in 1980 led business to worry about the image of their city, the quality of future employees and, as one observer noted, "the safety of the streets." An additional motivation, once partnerships had begun, was the need to keep up with corporate leaders who were already participating. Early activity by IBM, and major oil companies such as Shell and Tenneco put strong pressure on competitor organizations to participate.

IMPLEMENTATION

Partnerships formally began when Superintendent Reagan approached the business community through the Chamber of Commerce with a proposal for increased school involvement. The VIPS office was charged with developing and maintaining partnership efforts. But business came to play the central role in the partnership, initiating the partnership effort with a Chamber of Commerce kickoff reception. IBM, in particular, was a prime sponsor of this new effort. The reception garnered broad support from representatives of virtually all major Houston corporations; as one participant put it: "A whole lot of vice presidents came." Attracting 60 corporate guests, the kickoff resulted in the creation of 17 partnerships concentrated largely in the magnet schools.

During the next several years, the partnership effort grew, expanding in 1982 to 42 schools; in 1983 to 88. In that year, another kickoff dinner was held with 102 people attending. By 1985, a total of 150 businesses and organizations were working with students in 102 schools.

In an effort related to partnerships and educational improvement, a separate task force known as the Houston Business Committee for Educational Excellence was established in 1985. The task force, composed of mid-level corporate staff, originated in a "task force for excellence" set up by the superintendent to assess teachers. Participation stemmed from the perception that Houston teachers were drawn from "the lowest 25 percent" and that poor teaching would in turn hurt the image, business environment and quality of life in Houston. The committee, including representatives from ARCO, Tenneco, Shell and IBM among others, decided to upgrade the teaching profession through grants to teachers, summer training programs and a reward system for notable teachers. The committee has considerable funding from ARCO ($50,000) and Tenneco ($10,000) and is just starting to select staff and an office.

SCHOOL DISTRICT ROLE

Although the school district played an important role as an intermediary in partnership formation, it did not initiate or ultimately direct the shape of individual partnerships. Major school/business links were built on the efforts of volunteer committees concerned with the apparent failure of the schools to educate and prepare students for employment or productive citizenship. The school district response was to establish a brokerage mechanism that introduced voluntary organizations and the business community to the school system and provided some suggested models for a partnership structure. The school district then withdrew to leave the major initiative to the business community.

Throughout the partnership effort, the schools have used the business community's executive talent to an unusual degree, allowing the public/community affairs officers from five or six major corporations--including ARCO, IBM and Shell--to determine the context, structure, funding and agendas for school/business linkages. The high degree of business involvement, evident from the first fundraising dinner, reflects Houston's traditional private sector involvement in public and community affairs.

TENNECO ROLE

The Tenneco Corporation, like some other major oil companies, is a major underwriter of Houston's cultural activities. It is also a major supporter of the city's nonprofit sector, providing aid to over 140 organizations including the Red Cross, hospitals, arts organizations and community centers.

Tenneco has also been an active promoter of educational improvements. Tenneco's activities in support of community projects in general, and education in particular, is coordinated by its Office of Community Affairs, under the direction of Jo Ann Swinney. Swinney feels that Tenneco, as well as other major corporations, needs to be involved directly in the schools in order to accomplish four main goals:

- Improve the academic performance of students;
- Provide students with role models in the business world;
- Improve in-school morale; and
- Increase the business community's understanding of and involvement in the public school system.

One effort in which Tenneco has been strongly involved is Communities In Schools (CIS), a Houston-based program that brings the services of existing social service agencies to disadvantaged students to aid in dropout prevention. The program provides students with access to these agencies and offers in-school counseling, tutoring and employment services. In each participating school, CIS counselors monitor student schoolwork and attendance, plan programs and place students with nonprofit corporations.

CIS is based on a national program, Cities In Schools, which began in Atlanta. The Houston CIS effort is, however, a separate one, initiated by Jill Shaw, who as a representative of an organization known as Child Care '76, approached Superintendent Reagan directly with the concept. Reagan became a strong supporter, and as a result, CIS operates in 13 schools in the greater Houston area. Preemployment training is provided in nine high schools, but the additional employment component is only offered in two of these high schools. Programs in several of the schools focus on the needs of juveniles on probation.

Tenneco's involvement in CIS has been extensive. Shaw first enlisted the corporation's support in 1980, and Tenneco responded by providing general program support.

THE TENNECO/JEFFERSON DAVIS PARTNERSHIP

The partnership between Tenneco and Jefferson Davis High School was initiated by Terry Chauche, coordinator of Volunteers In Public Schools (VIPS) for the school district. Aware of Tenneco's interest in education, Chauche approached Swinney in the corporation's Office of Community Affairs with a list of magnet schools from which Tenneco could select a partner. Tenneco declined to choose any of them, and instead expressed interest in a school with the following characteristics: low achievement among the students and a downtown location in a Hispanic neighborhood. Jefferson Davis fit the requirements. The choice of Jefferson Davis reflected Tenneco's desire to have an impact on public education in Houston and to use the partnership to increase the visibility of Tenneco in the community.

The principal of Jefferson Davis, George Diaz, was receptive to the partnership idea when approached in December, 1980. Diaz felt that a partnership with Tenneco could bring the school a variety of benefits, including an improved image in the community, improved student and teacher morale, and assistance for teachers.

Diaz saw some material advantages as well. Noting that a "huge corporation could help a school like this," Diaz recognized that a corporate linkage, like adoption by a rich uncle, could bring a wide variety of long-term material benefits including direct cash grants, property improvements and jobs for school graduates.

The first planning meeting for the partnership was held in February 1981. It was attended by principal Diaz, the PTA president, a teacher, Swinney and Mike Kovich, a lawyer for Tenneco. Subsequently, planning committees were set up to shape the proposed partnership. These committees decided to focus the program on providing Tenneco volunteers to aid teachers, a model suggested by the school district partnership coordinator.

This partnership model faced some initial resentment from teachers, who reportedly felt their competence was being questioned. In part to ease tensions and in part to promote partnership and school goals, a retreat was held in the summer of 1981 at a Tenneco-owned conference center at Columbus Lakes. Forty-five faculty members, the principal, two assistant principals and a school district representative attended. The conference concentrated on program planning and morale building and reportedly did much to help the partnership program gain acceptance among teachers. Operations began the following year with five Tenneco volunteers in the school.

A few problems, which have continued to hamper partnership efforts, were immediately evident: not all volunteers who had signed up followed through and a number could not or did not come to the school on a consistent basis. In the most recent school year, only 10 to 15 participated consistently. Despite some problems of this kind, the partnership has functioned relatively smoothly. In 1985 a second conference of teachers, principals and district officials was held to plan how to meet school district objectives.

Tenneco's affiliation with Jefferson Davis led Swinney to press for a CIS program there; it was implemented in 1983. The corporation brought the program into Jefferson Davis (though the high school had not been slated as a CIS site), and has provided both program direction and substantial financial support. Tenneco underwrites 100 student jobs each year and funds a four-day "Leadership Institute" for program participants. Day-to-day program operations are directed by CIS staff at Jefferson Davis. However, through the involvement of Swinney and Community Affairs Representative, Renee Ramey, Tenneco exerts strong overall guidance for program planning. Tenneco has also committed extensive funding to the program, contributing an estimated $375,000 over the three years of CIS operation at Jefferson Davis.

Throughout the history of the partnership, Tenneco has taken a leading role, working with school officals to achieve its long-term goals and to respond to school requests for assistance. All funding for the partnership--including costs of planning, operation, incidental programming and school improvements--has been provided by Tenneco.

THE PARTNERSHIP MODEL

In developing partnerships in Houston, no specific model was mandated. Rather, a variety of treatments including tutoring assistance, mentoring programs, job placements, incentive awards and other initiatives were selected in each partnership. Tenneco's efforts have reflected this mix; the partnership has evolved into a group of flexible components of which some are continuing programs, while others are one-time responses to a particular problem. Apart from the CIS component, the focus of the Tenneco/Jefferson Davis partnership has been on meeting school needs rather than needs of individual students. The emphasis has been to improve the general teaching and learning conditions within the school through tutoring assistance, cash contributions and attempts to improve morale and a sense of belonging within the school.

The one exception to this focus on school rather than individual student needs has been the CIS component. This program, which offers subsidized summer job placements, counseling and some preemployment training, is designed as a means to motivate and support high-risk students who are likely to drop out of school. The aim of the program is to act as a "shield" for youngsters without structure and direction in their lives, to provide guidance, social services, part-time jobs and eventual job search assistance as part of a full-time program. The structure and management of the partnership components are described in the next chapter.

III. THE PARTNERSHIP IN ACTION

The Tenneco/Jefferson Davis partnership program has three major components:

- A year-long course in job readiness and preemployment skills which includes after-school classes, community volunteer work, a seven-week summer jobs program and the matching of students with volunteer mentors;
- A year-long volunteer tutor program that places Tenneco employees in the classroom to assist teachers and provide individual or small group attention to students in a wide range of subjects; and
- An ongoing program of Tenneco-sponsored special events and services aimed at boosting teacher morale, student achievement and attendance, and overall school spirit.

With the exception of the seven-week summer jobs component, partnership activities are designed to operate throughout the school year. While some are scheduled two or three times a week and others are one-time special events, Tenneco's involvement in the school is continuous, either visibly or behind the scenes.

Despite drastic cuts in the corporate contributions budget, Tenneco management has been encouraged by its Office of Community Affairs to continue placing its school partnership high on its list of priorities. It has cut back only on expenses considered "excessive". Virtually all costs for the partnership program are paid by Tenneco. Tenneco's contributions have included, over the four years of the partnership, $375,000 to fund the Communities in Schools program at Jefferson Davis including job subsidies, staff and administrative costs and $250,000 in other partnership costs. These include:

- $20,000/year in scholarships;
- One full-time equivalent employee;
- Additional staff time;
- Incentive awards;
- $25,000 for the Leadership Institute;
- Two retreats for Davis staff; and
- Renovations to the schools.

Tenneco's overall contribution to the school represents an additional 4 percent to the school's total per-pupil expenditure. Such a contribution provides the principal with much-needed resources for the school, often funding projects that otherwise would not occur or would have to be paid for out of an already overtaxed budget.

Partnership activities are administered out of the Office of Community Affairs at Tenneco. Renee Ramey, a full-time Community Affairs Representative and former tutor, coordinates all tutoring and special activities with a representative at the school, currently the Dean of Instruction; all summer jobs and pre-employment activities are coordinated by Ramey with the School Director of CIS, Helen Coronado. A former graduate of Jefferson Davis High, Coronado is assisted by four counselors and a secretary in the management of all jobs/training program activities. The work of CIS in Jefferson Davis has been hampered by its frequent staff turnover causing some discontinuity in services to students.

SUMMER JOBS/TRAINING PROGRAM

The program is designed to help at-risk, disadvantaged youth understand and develop the attitudes, habits and skills necessary for effective full-time employment. The combination of classroom training, counseling and on-the-job supervision during employment with a nonprofit organization for the summer is intended to prepare the student for the world of work beyond high school.

After-School Classes

Funded by Tenneco, Communities in Schools (CIS) administers the year-long course in job readiness and preemployment skills training. The CIS staff recruit the students, with input from teachers and administrators, targeting students at risk of dropping out of school due to academic, financial, family or legal problems.

CIS staff also develop the curriculum for the after-school program. A total of 40 classroom hours are required for all students who plan to seek summer employment through the CIS program. The curriculum includes workshops on topics in four major categories:

- Academic Preparation:
  - College preparation
  - Writing
  - Test-taking
  - Study skills
  - Grammar
  - Communication

- Personal/Social Development:
  - Self-assessment
  - Personal hygiene

  - Managing personal responsibility/problem-solving
  - Body language
  - Dependability/reliability
  - Time management
  - Motivation
  - Personal relations
  - Community service

- Career Development:
  - Career awareness
  - Resume writing
  - Career panel
  - Job search and contact skills
  - Interviewing
  - Problem-solving/coping
  - Initiative and productivity
  - Worker rights

- Enrichment:
  - Broyhill Leadership Conference
  - Six Flags Over Texas
  - Wax Museum

Each workshop has seven to eight lessons that last for an hour. Students receive both pre- and post-tests for each of the first three groups of workshops.

Community Volunteer Work

In addition to the 40 hours of preemployment training, 20 hours of community volunteer work are required to successfully complete the program. Students take part in a series of Community Service Projects aimed at teaching cooperation and self-help through contributions to their own communities. One such project provided assistance and companionship to "adopted" local senior citizens; another involved cleaning up an inner-city neighborhood; a third landscaped neighborhood apartment complexes.

Summer Jobs

The preemployment training program culminates in an interview day at Jefferson Davis High during which employers from nonprofit organizations and students are brought together and efforts are made to match the preferences of each. Most students are placed with their first, second or third choice of employer. Nonprofit organizations, such as educational institutions, municipal government, libraries and hospitals, are recruited by Tenneco, which pays the minimum wage stipends for the seven weeks. The students actually work four days a week and return to school on Fridays in order to discuss their work experiences and to participate in enrichment activities with CIS personnel. Students are also paid for this Friday attendance.

The promise of free summer help, paid for by Tenneco, attracted 44 work sites for the 1984-85 program year, with most organizations taking one to four students each. Texas Southern University took 12 students. Appendix A presents a complete list of participating organizations.

Prior to the start of employment, both students and supervisors are provided with manuals detailing expectations, regulations and procedures to be followed during the course of the working relationship. In addition, each is given the opportunity to evaluate the experience upon the completion of the seven-week period. CIS staff visit the work sites to monitor student progress. Three or more absences is cause for dismissal. This action may only be taken by CIS staff. CIS may also drop an organization or agency from the program "if good cause is found", i.e., a lack of compliance with previously established worksite guidelines.

The distribution of students by occupational type in the summer of 1985 was:

o Clerical	89%
o Trade	4%
o Paraprofessional	4%
o Other	3%

A complete list of the type of entry-level positions filled during the past three years of the program may be found in Appendix B.

Prior to beginning their summer employment, students attended a week-long leadership conference at Prairie View A. & M. College. Modeled after the Broyhill Leadership Conference concept, the conference was funded wholly by Tenneco. Students stayed in the dormitories and attended classes. The curriculum was designed by the Tomorrow's America Foundation and was approved by the Houston Independent School District. Training in the following areas was provided:

- Goal-setting
- Organization
- Leadership
- Problem-solving
- Active communication
- Group dynamics
- Self-discovery

Due to current depressed economic conditions, Tenneco recently moved the leadership conference to the downtown campus of the

University of Houston to eliminate the expense of a residential setting, much to the disappointment of students who had delighted in the vacation-like experience.

TENNECO VOLUNTEERS: TUTORS AND MENTORS

Tutors

The recruitment of Tenneco volunteers to tutor at Jefferson Davis is the responsibility of Renee Ramey. Regular advertising campaigns are conducted to enlist new volunteers and renew existing commitments. Great care is taken by the principal, however, in matching teachers with tutors. According to Diaz, tutoring is viewed as the "greatest boon" to the school: while the Tenneco/CIS Summer jobs/Training Program affects some students, "volunteers affect the whole school."

The 1981 summer faculty retreat, designed to win acceptance for partnership activities in general and in-class tutors in particular, was repeated last year at a cost of $25 per teacher. The fee is seen as a way of defraying costs during difficult times for Tenneco and as a device for helping teachers feel it is "their" conference. As the number of tutors continues to increase--from five in 1981 to an average of 25 in more recent years--more teachers have the option of enlisting outside help for their students. Plans for a third summer retreat are currently underway.

The volunteers act as teacher's aides and provide individual or group tutoring to the students. Volunteers obtain work-release time for this activity and are able to select their preferred subject of interest or expertise. Tenneco provides taxi vouchers for all volunteers to facilitate travel to and from the school, located approximately 15 minutes from the Tenneco building.

Tenneco employees tutor students for one or two hours per week. Recently, Tenneco has laid off some employees because of depressed industry conditions. Volunteers have limited thier time in the school because they do not wish to appear to have too much extra time on their hands. Employees may tutor individuals or groups of students but are not permitted to teach the class. Upon signing up as a tutor, each volunteer is given an orientation and a package of materials containing useful guidelines for tutoring activities and appropriate tutor/student roles.

Mentors

Mentors are recruited by Tenneco from all departments and levels of expertise within the organization. Over 100 employees are then matched with students in the summer jobs program who express compatible interests, hobbies, and career goals.

The program has recently expanded its scope of activities. What began as a one-day field trip to Tenneco combined with a summer worksite (check-up) visit has now expanded; in a minimum of three additional planned activities, Tenneco volunteer mentors offer career guidance to the students with whom they are paired. A few students have obtained part-time jobs at Tenneco through the efforts of their mentors.

SPECIAL EVENTS AND INCENTIVES

Tenneco's support of Jefferson Davis High School continues beyond the partnership components described above. Its involvement includes various special activities designed to improve school spirit and morale for both faculty and students. Some of the most important of these contributions are as follows:

- Tenneco has for the past four years awarded renewable college scholarships each worth $2,500 a year for two Jefferson Davis graduates who wish to study science, technology or business at any college or university in the country. In addition, five students who enroll in the Summer jobs/Training Program and wish to attend Houston Community College are selected to work there during the summer following graduation and, upon enrollment in the fall, are awarded $500 scholarships for the first year.

- Tenneco paid for new carpeting for the school auditorium at an estimated cost of $5,000. It also provided new rifles for the school's ROTC drill team.

- Tenneco has for the past two years sponsored various schoolwide contests during October, the month when districtwide attendance rates are compared. In 1985, Jefferson Davis received a district award of $24,500 for instructional materials, based upon its improved attendance rates. Perfect attendance is also recognized at Tenneco-sponsored events, such as this year's picnic honoring students achieving both good attendance and/or good grades.

- Tenneco volunteers are able to request grants of up to $1,000 for the teachers with whom they work. These grants enable teachers to purchase classroom materials the school is unable to provide. Ten grants have been awarded during the past five years.

- Tenneco sponsored a campus beautification project, supplying plants, trees and mulch and enlisting the help of 200-300 students one Saturday to clean up the grounds. This effort has been greatly aided by district development funds used to dramatically improve both the exterior and interior appearance of the school.

- Twice during the year, Tenneco honors those who have been selected as teacher of the month with luncheons held in its executive dining room; in addition, the volunteer of the year is recognized.

- To generate school spirit, Tenneco sponsored a 60th birthday party for Jefferson Davis at a cost of $15,000. The celebration drew over 11,000 people during the week-long festivities, and all graduating classes were represented. To commemorate the occasion, the alumni established a $10,000 scholarship fund for college-bound seniors at Jefferson Davis High.

- Tenneco also prints the school newspaper and football and baseball game programs. It also sponsors field trips for vocational and academic students to Tenneco's corporate headquarters and provides monetary rewards for winners of student literary and art contests.

These are just some of the activities that are sponsored and supported by Tenneco. The corporation's presence and interest in the school is highly visible: announcements for Tenneco-sponsored activities are made over the public address system, posters advertising special events are displayed on bulletin boards around the school, and new bumper stickers sporting Jefferson Davis colors and logo announce that "Tenneco and Jefferson Davis are True Partners in Education."

IV. NATURE OF YOUTH SERVED

The whole student body at Jefferson Davis High is affected by the partnership efforts of Tenneco. Tutors come in contact with many students on a weekly basis and the improved environment is, in part, the result of other Tenneco-sponsored activities. However, those students participating in the Summer Jobs/Training Program probably reap the greatest benefits. And since the program targets severely disadvantaged and at-risk youth, these are the students with perhaps the most to gain.

SUMMER JOBS/TRAINING PROGRAM

Students are recruited into the jobs program through various channels: letters announcing the program are mailed out by the CIS staff to counselors and students. Teachers and Tenneco volunteers also make recommendations to the CIS staff, identifying students at risk of dropping out of school due to poor attendance and/or grades, financial and other family or legal problems. All applicants have to be approved by the principal prior to acceptance into the program. An average of 130 students sign up annually for preemployment training, exceeding the goal of 106 set by CIS staff for Tenneco-funded summer jobs slots.

While seniors participate in the year-long preemployment workshops, those with several years of program experience are expected to obtain their own private sector jobs for the summer. In the event that they are unable to do so, JTPA certification and employment services are sought.

The recruitment process is hampered by the fact that while the school serves a large proportion of economically disadvantaged youth, many will not admit to needing financial help, thus making it difficult to identify those most in need. For example, Principal Diaz noted that while one-third of all students take advantage of the free lunch program, the vast majority are probably eligible to do so but will go without eating rather than come forward and admit need. He believes such behavior to reflect the pride characteristic of Hispanic families.

In attempts to attract disadvantaged/JTPA-eligible students into the program, CIS offers a $50 savings bond to each student, and pays teachers $30 for each JTPA-eligible student referred to the program. Even with these incentives, the CIS staff has difficulty identifying and attracting JTPA-eligible students. The problem is further compounded by a) the need for many of these students to work after school, the time at which most training activities occur, and b) the problem raised by unavailable or expensive public transportation should school buses be missed.

Despite such roadblocks, 129 students with grades ranging from A to F were enrolled at the time of the evaluation and attended regular meetings twice a week after school. Both school attendance and program attendance are strictly enforced. Termination from the program follows an initial warning for unexcused absenteeism. While it is hoped that all grades will improve as a result of improved attendance, emphasis is placed on being in school and passing major subjects. An average of 100 students are then carried over into the Tenneco-sponsored summer jobs program. The characteristics of the students participating in the program in 1985 were:

- Male..............44%
- Female............56%

- Black.............43%
- Hispanic..........57%

- 9th grade.........21%
- 10th grade........38%
- 11th grade........23%
- 12th grade........17%

TENNECO VOLUNTEERS

Students from all grades in this predominantly minority high school are exposed to Tenneco tutors on a fairly regular basis. In classes ranging from Bio/Physics to Special Education Math, students benefit from the one-on-one or small group instruction as the tutor assists the regular classroom teacher. Mentors also serve a wide range of students; Tenneco reports "a good balance between high achievers, average students and low achievers" matched with mentors from many departments.

V. OUTCOMES

The effects of the Tenneco/Jefferson Davis partnership appear to be positive for the students and the school as a whole. Attendance rates and achievement scores have improved. Morale is high among administrators, teachers and students; the sporting of school colors, bumper stickers and Jefferson Davis T-shirts indicate a sense of ownership of the school, as does the revived interest in athletic competition. In addition, Tenneco's highly visible support of the school has been contagious; the school district has recently completed long-needed renovations at the school and the building appears bright and attractive. A small proportion of the student body also receives preemployment training and work experience from the summer jobs/training program component.

MORALE

The presence of Tenneco tutors in the school acts as a constant reminder to students of the connection between the worlds of business and education. The volunteers themselves report very positive feelings about the contribution they believe they are making. Teacher morale is also reported improved, though tutors reported that teachers most in need of help were not necessarily those receiving it. Tutors said they were often assigned to a teacher as a reward for hard work and success rather than to support a teacher struggling to function effectively. And community support for the school is apparent, according to Principal Diaz, perhaps as a result of the improved outward appearance of the school.

The lack of parental involvement continues to be a major disappointment. An example was the poor turnout for "fail safe day," a day for parents to meet teachers and learn more about the school. Of the 1,300 parents that could have attended, only 200 actually visited the school. It is, of course, not known how much conflicts with daily work obligations contributed to the poor showing. Diaz, however, clearly viewed the turnout as light and indicative of parental disinterest and/or lack of concern.

Principal Diaz has himself contributed to the improved in-school environment. During the eight years of his tenure, he has enforced a strict discipline code, particularly with regards to drugs and weapons.

SUMMER JOBS

The most tangible of the collaboration's outcomes for students is summer jobs; 103 youth were placed during the summer of 1985. A recent evaluation by Communities in Schools' Department of Program Evaluation reported that four out of the six Tenneco/CIS objectives of the Youth Summer Jobs Program had been met:

- Over 90 percent of the students placed in summer jobs completed the term of employment;
- Over 85 percent of students placed in summer employment received a satisfactory or better rating from their employers;
- Over 85 percent of supervisors indicated a willingness to rehire their students and rated the project good or better;
- Over 85 percent of the students rated their overall training and work experience good or better.

The two unmet objectives were:

- 25 percent of participating students actually received merit increases based on job performance. This was considerably less than the goal of 80 percent. Eighty-four percent of employers, however, stated that they would recommend their student/employee for "exemplary job performance" awards, distributed at a ceremony during the final week of employment.
- 74 percent of participating students completed a minimum of 40 hours of preemployment skills training; the goal was 80 percent.

Thus participating students receive positive reinforcement for good attendance and good grades. And with a gain in average daily attendance from 80-83 percent in 1978 to 94.5 percent in 1986, Jefferson Davis students appear to be reversing an earlier trend of increased absenteeism.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

Test scores have improved citywide since the beginning of this decade. Since 1980, the percentage of students passing Houston Independent School District performance tests has increased in 25 high schools and decreased in only two, with 8 percent more students throughout the city passing. While Jefferson Davis experienced a slightly lower increase, 6 percent more students passing, 1984-1985 scores placed Jefferson Davis 18th out of a total of 27 high schools. This compares favorably with 1980 when similar standardized tests had found only two 10th grades, one

11th grade, and four 12th grades scoring lower than Jefferson Davis High districtwide. Progress in this area therefore appears solid, with indications that test scores for the current academic year will herald Jefferson Davis as the most improved high school in the Houston Independent School District. The extent to which this improvement is related to partnership activities, however, cannot be measured. On the other hand, credit is due to the corporation for the students who have received Tenneco scholarships to attend institutions of higher learning.

NATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR TENNECO

Tenneco's rationale for the partnership was to become a "good corporate citizen," to help integrate youth into the mainstream of society so that they might become productive citizens. Although image-building was not a goal, the partnership has received a good deal of attention, more national than local. For two consecutive years, Tenneco was one of 30 national recipients of the President's Citation Program for Private Sector Initiatives. Tenneco's Summer Jobs/Training Program was judged one of 30 outstanding programs from more than 1,000 entries. In 1985, this program also received an award for "Outstanding Dedication to the Career Development of the Youth of Our Nation" from the President's Private Sector Summer Jobs Citation Program.

VI. PROGRAM STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL/BUSINESS PARTNERSHIPS

The Tenneco/Jefferson Davis partnership is one that reflects well on both the school and business participants. Its greatest strength has been the depth of commitment of both Tenneco and Jefferson Davis to the partnership, and the presence of strong, thoughtful advocates in both organizations. Tenneco, in particular, has been noteworthy both in its corporate generosity and in the innovative leadership provided by its Community Affairs Department. Similarly, Jefferson Davis is fortunate to have a principal who does not fear outside influence.

Among the program's strengths are:

- Tenneco's financial commitment. Despite a recession in the oil industry, Tenneco has continued to contribute substantially to the partnership, averaging over $100,000 per year for each year of operation.

- Innovation. The Tenneco partnership has exhibited a number of imaginative solutions to operating problems. Tenneco's sponsorship of retreats for school staff did much to ease initial difficulties while corporate underwriting of the Tomorrow's Institute program proved a unique and effective means to motivate CIS participants.

- Evolution. The partnership has continued to evolve in response both to existing problems and to new opportunities and needs.

- Personal commitment and leadership. Jo Ann Swinney and Renee Ramey of Tenneco and George Diaz of Jefferson Davis have all exhibited a high degree of involvement in partnership activities. Swinney and Ramey have been both directive and responsive. They have offered new ideas, met specific school needs and provided strong personal support to the partnership.

- Improved school morale. The donning of school colors and T-shirts and revived interest in athletic competition are indicative of a new spirit of ownership within the school.

While the concept and direction of the program are quite strong, there have been some deficiencies in operation. The major weaknesses of the partnership have been a loose operating structure and specific problems in the administration of the CIS component. A less definable weakness lies in program outcomes. Given all the money, attention and care devoted to the CIS component, provisions for transition to post-school employment seem relatively weak.

Specific problem areas include:

- CIS operation. The CIS component has had administrative difficulties, including high staff turnover and a failure to consistently meet the academic and attendance standards set for student participation. Recruitment, too, has been a problem, with many of the relatively more disadvantaged students remaining unserved.

- School-to-work transition. While scholarships are offered to some students, and others do get jobs from their placements, the partnership appears to do relatively little to support the school-to-work transition. This difficulty may well stem from the Tenneco policy of using nonprofit organizations in which to place students. While this procedure serves Tenneco's goals of subsidizing participating organizations, it also limits the chances for future employment of participants. Private sector placements, if feasible, would offer students valuable training, contacts and opportunities that precariously funded and staffed nonprofit organization simply cannot match. Although use of corporate placements would represent a change in Tenneco policy, it is a switch that might better meet ultimate partnership goals.

- Commitment of Tenneco volunteers. Tenneco staff have had some difficulty fulfilling their teaching commitments. Of 30 volunteers signed up to tutor, only 10 to 15 were participating fully at the time of the evaluation. Scheduling, job changes and unexpected job demands have created further problems with the volunteer tutoring program.

- Volatility of the oil industry. Although Tenneco has maintained its commitment in the face of a sharp drop in revenues and increased staff layoffs, continuing price declines could threaten the partnership. Some effects are already evident, including a scaling down of plans for a motivational/leadership retreat, and the re-assignment or impending layoff of some teacher volunteers.

The Tenneco/Jefferson Davis Partnership continues to offer both students and staff a mechanism for improving morale and identifying with the school. The Summer Jobs/Training Program provides students a vehicle for gaining important self-confidence, motivation, and entry-level job experience. Thus, Tenneco's association with the school, while possibly capable of contributing greater access to private-sector jobs, has been a positive influence in the recent history of Jefferson Davis High School.

As such, this partnership is an example of a successful corporate "adoption" of partner schools. In the more effective of these relationships, as in this one, benefits to both parties are usually manifested in improvements not easily measured, such as morale and corporate image. The Tenneco effort serves as a model for other corporations as it effectively mobilizes resources to fulfill corporate goals for community relations and bring important benefits to the partner school.

There are, however, significant costs and other disadvantages associated with an adoption approach of this kind. In the most successful of these models, corporate commitment of resources, staff time and energy is high. An effective partnership requires the nearly full-time attention of the community affairs office, as well as placing occasional demands on other parts of the corporate structure. The required financial commitment is high also--well over $500,000 in direct costs to Tenneco apart from staff time.

While adoption brings numerous short-term improvements to both school and students, evidence of gain in long-term outcomes is slight. Given the overall scarcity of resources available to disadvantaged youth, it may be that the adoption model, despite its obvious advantages to both partners, is not the optimal means to effectively link business and schools. However, the Tenneco/Jefferson Davis partnership is an example of an adoption that is well-executed and provides considerable benefits to an inner-city school and its students.

For additional information about this program, contact:

Ms. Jo Ann Swinney
Director of Community Affairs
P.O. Box 2511
Houston, Texas 77001

(713) 757-3930

APPENDIX A

Organizations providing worksites for student positions include:

American Red Cross
Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans
Boy Scouts of America
Business Volunteers for the Arts
Camp Fire Association
Casa de Amigos Clinic
Centro Para Immigrantes
Chicano Training Center
Cities in Schools
Consumer Credit Counseling Service
Family Service Center
Greater Houston Convention and Visitors Council
Harris County Hospital District
Harris County Sheriff's Office
Hermann Hospital
Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
Houston Committee for Private Sector Initiatives
Houston Police Department
Houston Fire Department
Houston Independent School District
Houston Public Library
Houston Community College
KUHF Radio
KUHF-TV Channel 8
Latino Learning Center
Louie Welch Day Care
Mayor's Volunteer Program
M.D. Anderson Hospital
Methodist Hospital
Museum of Fine Arts
Neighborhood Centers
Rice University Library
Rotary Boys Club
S.E.R. Jobs for Progress
Stages
St. Luke's Hospital
St. Thomas University
Texas Children's Hospital
Texas Southern University
University of Houston
University of Houston Childcare Center
University of Texas Health Science Center
United Negro College Fund
United Way
Wesley Community Center
YMCA
YWCA

APPENDIX B

The types of entry-level positions filled by students over a recent three-year period include:

- Bookkeeper Assistant
- Childcare Aide
- Clerk-Typist
- Health Aide
- Laboratory Assistant
- Library Assistant
- Mail Service Courier
- Mechanic Assistant
- Medical Records Clerk
- Messenger
- News Assistant
- Nursing Assistant
- Office Assistant
- Physical Education Assistant
- Police Aide
- Print Shop Aide
- Purchasing Clerk
- Receptionist
- Recreational Aide
- Research Assistant
- Secretary
- Teacher Aide
- Wood Shop Assistant

Public/Private Ventures

399 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106
(215) 592-9099

Allies in Education

A Profile of:

American Can Company/Martin Luther King, Jr. High School Partnership
New York, New York

by David Gruber

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. HISTORY AND CONTEXT 5

III. KEY PROGRAM FEATURES 11

IV. PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND ROLES 15

V. NATURE OF YOUTH SERVED 17

VI. COSTS 19

VII. OUTCOMES 21

VIII. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES 25

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1982, the American Can Company formed a partnership with Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK) High School under the auspices of the New York City Join-A-School (JAS) program. Although established under the broad JAS framework, the program is, in virtually all aspects, an American Can initiative. The program content, scope and direction mirror American Can's particular priorities; JAS involvement has been minimal since program initiation.

PROGRAM GOALS

The American Can partnership program was initiated and strongly supported by the corporation's chairman, William Woodside. The program was designed to reflect American Can's stated commitment to social responsibility by providing nontargeted assistance to an inner-city high school. The program is driven by Woodside's belief that corporations must play a role in the community in general and in the schools in particular.

The primary purpose of the American Can partnership is to promote attitudinal change. With its corporate resources, American Can hoped to enrich the school environment, motivate students toward increased involvement in school and related activities and, perhaps, improve student perceptions of themselves and the largely unfamiliar corporate society around them.

An equally important goal is to change the perceptions of American Can personnel regarding the public schools and to increase employee participation in schools and community affairs in general. In its focus on general corporate interaction with a school as a whole, rather than the provision of specific program services to selected participants, this objective significantly differs from those of other partnerships P/PV studied. Virtually all of Martin Luther King, Jr. High School students are minorities and the vast majority are economically disadvantaged. As a consequence, the American Can program is less structured than other programs studied; it funds a flexible mixture of program design with services. Student and staff involvement varies from year to year.

SCHOOL DISTRICT GOALS

Since 1982 the New York City Board of Education (BOE) has sought to promote school/business partnerships with as many of its high schools as possible. With the assistance of the New York City Partnership, it has recruited firms and matched them with 50 schools. To demonstrate the BOE's commitment to this project, Join-A-School (JAS) secured its own identity within the chancellor's office and has a full-time director.

JAS proposed a very broad agenda for its partnerships, including help to promote the chancellor's priorities for the city's high schools. Currently, school system priorities are to reduce the dropout rate and to raise the level of academic achievement. However, JAS has left the working out of both institutional and specific program partnerships to the individual schools and their corporate partners, intervening only when assistance is requested or serious problems are encountered.

Because of the apparent success of the American Can/MLK relationship, JAS points to it as one of the city's best partnerships.

PROGRAM MODEL

The cornerstone of the partnership model is a grant from the American Can Foundation of $25,000 per year to be used for programs and objectives developed by the school in consultation with American Can staff. To date, this money has been used to fund after-school activities, to provide incentives for student attendance and achievement and to provide supplementary equipment for courses. It is estimated that at least 300 students participate in funded activities each year.

Additional program services include:

- A security guard training program administered by American Can in conjunction with Burns International Security. A total of 125 students (30 per year) have participated in the program, which is held at MLK after school hours.
- A nonpaying 8-to-12 week internship program held at American Can twice during the year. A total of 40 students have participated in the program.
- A World of Work program in which 10 to 15 students per week visit National Benefit Life Insurance, an American Can subsidiary, for a one-day introduction to business. This program has only been conducted on a periodic basis.
- A renewable $1,000 scholarship to be awarded to one outstanding MLK graduate each year.

In addition to these continuing activities, American Can funded a number of one-time efforts centering around the 1984 annual shareholders' meeting, which was held at the school. This effort involved 100 students in a variety of activities including:

- Service as security guards and student hosts;
- Preparation of a "student annual report" on American Can (15 students); and
- Observation of the 1983 annual meeting in Minneapolis (eight students).

In response to school requests for assistance, American Can has also provided MLK with equipment, staff time and other resources above and beyond the terms of the annual grant.

Based on its experience at MLK, American Can has expanded two of its in-school program efforts into broader nationwide programs:

- The American Can Foundation has donated $90,000 to replicate the security program model in three other cities.
- American Can has created a network of 35 institutions concerned with memorializing Martin Luther King, Jr. and, through the foundation, has donated $85,000 to produce an instructional film commemorating his birthday.

STRUCTURE

The partnership is loosely structured. General program decisions and direction are handled through interactions between the program coordinators at American Can (Ken Koprowski) and MLK (Richard Kaplan.) While both coordinators are assisted by committees, in practice the coordinators have been given broad discretion. At American Can, Koprowski, who devotes roughly 15 percent of his time to Join-A-School activities, serves as the overall contact point with MLK, while committee members take responsibility for individual programs. At MLK a committee structure also exists, though it has been active only intermittently of late. Richard Kaplan, in his role of coordinator, exercises broad discretion over the program, with responsibility for most planning and operational decisions. The School District plays little or no role in program operations.

Information for this profile was collected during four visits to Martin Luther King, Jr. High School and two to the American Can Company. Interviews were conducted with William Woodside, Richard Kaplan, Ken Koprowski, Peter Goldberg, other American Can and MLK staff, and a sample of participating students. In addition, information was gathered from observations and a review of documentary materials.

II. HISTORY AND CONTEXT

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. HIGH SCHOOL

New York City currently has 111 high schools serving approximately 275,000 students. Although some of the most successful schools and programs in the country flourish within this system, a significant number of its comprehensive high schools are characterized by serious drug and vandalism problems, and a dropout rate that in 1985 indicated that 42 percent of all its high school students would drop out of school before graduation. Citywide, approximately 100,000 students--over 36 percent--are reading two or more grades below grade level.

In the late 1970s and early 80s, MLK--located near Lincoln Center in Manhattan--was regarded as one of the city's more seriously troubled schools. Well over half of its students consistently test as reading more than two years below grade level, with the school's overall dropout rate approaching 60 percent. MLK also has 100 percent minority students in its population, most of them black. In 1984 only 7.3 percent were Hispanic (compared to a 25 percent citywide rate); and 5.9 percent were non-Hispanic English as a Second Language students. In the same year, of those who remained in school, only 77.2 percent qualified for graduation after state testing. MLK's student population increased from 2,127 in 1983 to 2,500 in 1984; and 2,800 in 1985.

By all accounts, MLK was a school with very serious problems and generally considered a "dumping ground" for students unable to get into selective vocational or career programs in Manhattan. Because of vandalism and drug use in the late 1970s, many parents were reluctant to send their children to MLK--the school corridors were unsafe, and school morale was at an all time low. Key staff at MLK view the morale problem, both among staff and students, as the school's major failing at the time. Moreover, they attribute much of this to the fact that MLK had virtually no after-school sport or club program for students and no other incentives for student motivation or performance.

AMERICAN CAN

American Can Company is one of the United States' larger and more successful corporations, with assets of $3.1 billion and revenues of $4.2 billion in 1985. In recent years, it has redirected its energies and redeployed assets from its traditional packaging industries to a significantly expanded financial service sector that had revenues of over $1 billion in 1984. Its third major area of activity is specialty retailing. In 1984, American Can funded the American Can Foundation (ACF) with $2.7 million to award grants for charitable purposes. Approximately $470,000 of the fund is used to address a series of "national themes" including "economic transitions," hunger and nutrition, and public education to which $171,000 was devoted last year.

American Can's commitment to MLK and other social service and charitable programs stems directly from the influence of the its CEO, William Woodside. Woodside is somewhat unusual among corporate executives in his willingness to devote his time and his corporation's resources to problems outside the normal scope of business affairs. He was the singular impetus toward American Can's involvement with schools in general and MLK in particular. In a recent speech, Woodside noted:

> As a business entity, American Can can survive and prosper only in an environment comprised of both a healthy society and a healthy economy. Moreover, the shareholders of American Can--employees, stockholders, customers, business associates--should be involved in local and national issues facing our society.

Woodside has made the public schools a particular priority, becoming a prominent spokesman for public education, specifically in mobilizing corporate support for public schools. It is Woodside's view that individual relationships between corporations and schools can benefit both; that schools gain corporate resources and expertise while corporate executives realize an increased understanding of the problems of school and society. American Can's involvement in the partnership stemmed directly from the implementation of Woodside's philosophy; apart from its chairman there was little or no support within the organization for the link with Martin Luther King, Jr. High School.

ORIGINS OF THE PARTNERSHIP

The Join-A-School programs in New York City evolved from the recommendations of Joseph Califano who conducted a study of drug abuse and alcoholism among youth for Governor Hugh Carey of New York in 1981-82. Responding to the suggestion of staff director, Peter Goldberg, Califano persuaded the chancellor of the Board of Education, Frank Macchiarola, to initiate partnerships in New York City. Califano enlisted three corporations--American Can, Equitable Life and Manufacturers Hanover Trust--for the initial partnership.

From a number of innercity high schools proposed by the chancellor, American Can chose MLK--a school regarded by American Can as "...decidedly innercity and...with a good chance for restoration under a dynamic new principal (Edward Hom)." Hom readily accepted the offer of partnership conveyed by Woodside, and, in the spring and summer of 1982, the planning of the program began.

One of Hom's first steps was to appoint one of his science teachers, Richard Kaplan, who had also served as coordinator of student activities since 1980, to coordinate the school's participation in the planning process with American Can. Kaplan formed a faculty committee of eight to 10 staff members who held a series of meetings with the American Can planning group in Greenwich.

The planning group at American Can included some representatives of top management:

- Executive Vice President, Sal Giudice;
- Senior Vice President for Company Affairs, Andy Hays;
- Vice President for Governmental Affairs, Pat Van Kueren;
- Vice President of American Can's subsidiary in New York City, National Benefit Life Insurance, John Conde;
- Vice President of the American Can Foundation, Peter Goldberg; and
- Director of Security, Richard Post.

During the late spring and summer of 1982, at least six one-to-two-day planning sessions were held at American Can headquarters in Greenwich involving both the American Can and the Martin Luther King, Jr. planning committees. Both William Woodside and Edward Hom took part in several of the meetings. There was no further representation or direct involvement of the New York City Board of Education in the partnership at this point.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The initial planning sessions focused on the best use of the $25,000 grant pledged to school partnership activities. Unlike other programs studied, funding was not committed to a predesigned program, but rather was intended to be a flexible resource to be used in response to school-designated priorities. Initial priorities emerging from the group planning sessions included raising of morale, increasing school attendance and improving instruction. First-year program expenditures were used for textbook purchases, after-school activities, student attendance incentives, expenses associated with recruitment activities at "feeder schools," and faculty parties and luncheons.

Planning sessions were not repeated after 1982. Instead, spending priorities, structured along the 1982 lines, were developed by the school coordinator, approved by the principal and submitted to the American Can Foundation (ACF) for approval. Funding remained at $25,000 per year.

As in earlier years, expenditures were for the payment of staff salaries and club expenses for after-school activities, faculty parties and luncheons, student incentive awards and supplementary equipment and materials for courses.

While the initial $25,000-per-year grant was continued, the partnership project expanded dramatically in 1983 with a decision to hold the 1984 American Can shareholders' meeting at Martin Luther King, Jr. The announcement of this decision stimulated school staff and students and greatly raised the profile and level of enthusiasm attached to the partnership program.

The idea for this event originated with William Woodside, who committed the corporation to the meeting against the advice of much of his executive staff. Initial reaction to the idea, among both corporate and school staff was that security problems, the unfamiliarity of the surroundings and the potential for difficult and embarrassing developments far outweighed any possible benefit. Woodside felt that a strong signal of American Can's commitment to the school was needed to move the institutional relationship into high gear.

In addition, the meeting and attendant preparations resulted in the development of a variety of new partnership activities:

- Funded trips. In the spring of 1983, American Can flew MLK's partnership coordinator and eight students to its annual shareholders' meeting in Minneapolis. During several days in the city, students attended the shareholders' meeting and visited American Can subsidiaries. Participating students later worked on various aspects of the schools' involvement in the 1984 shareholders' meeting.

- Security clubs. The need for security at the annual meeting led to a security training course for students. American Can's Security Director, Richard Post, together with MLK staff and the Burns Security Agency (recruited by Post for the task), developed a 70-hour curriculum leading to certification by Burns of high school juniors and seniors as security guards. Students served as security guards at the shareholders' meeting and were later able to obtain part- and full-time employment under Burns' auspices. The security course is now a regular feature of the program and has been expanded through the National Crime Prevention Council and the American Can Foundation into three other sites.

- Slide presentation. The corporate communications office at American Can, working with MLK students, created a 15-minute slide presentation on MLK shown at the shareholders' meeting. The resulting video tape proved to be a great success and was later used in presentations to feeder schools to improve recruitment for MLK.

- Student annual report. In preparation for student participation in the shareholders' meeting, 16 students from several economics courses worked with their teachers and with American Can executives in studying the company's finances and operations. Conceived by the students themselves, this project involved students interviewing senior executives from all major segments of American Can's operations, in order to put together a "student annual report" on American Can. Almost all of American Can's senior executive staff appeared before the students in order to help them in this project, the results of which were published by American Can and MLK in a document entitled "Progress through Partnership." This 13-page brochure, which also describes many of the other programs and services sponsored by American Can at MLK, was distributed to the American Can shareholders at its May 1984 meeting at the school.

The 1984 shareholders' meeting proved to be a tremendous success both for the corporation and for the school. Using school staff as security people, guides and hosts, the program went off without difficulty, as over 300 students attended the share-holders' meeting, many prepared with questions for American Can officers. No behavior problems were apparent, and students proved to be an interested, enthusiastic and well-informed audience. Press coverage, including a story prominently featured in the New York Times, was extensive.

In sum, the shareholders' meeting, symbolic of the unusually strong corporate commitment of American Can to MLK, brought a vitality and momentum to the partnership that was not previously apparent. In retrospect, this vitality may have been more perceived than real, as the meeting raised expectations to a degree difficult to fulfill; at the time, however, the partnership's momentum and its future prospects appeared nearly unlimited to most observers.

In addition to the shareholders' meeting, one other major initiative developed in 1983-84. Acting on the request of MLK staff, American Can established an unpaid student internship program operating one day a week for approximately eight weeks. In this program, nine to 12 students were assigned to various staff members and departments including secretarial, maintenance, public relations and accounting, at American Can's headquarters in Greenwich. To date, this program has served a total of 40 to 50 students. Other partnership activities in 1983-84 included a two-day computer literacy program held in Greenwich for 20 MLK faculty members, and sessions at MLK with various American Can corporate officers, including a senior vice president who provided lectures and tutoring.

The following year, 1984-85, saw some dissipation of the partnership's momentum. The appointment of a new principal led to the departure of the program's coordinator, Richard Kaplan, and some loss of direction in partnership activities. In addition to the ongoing security club and internship activities, new funding was provided for the following initiatives, most of which involved few MLK students:

- An art contest;
- A computerized video newspaper;
- The creation of a "network" of Martin Luther King, Jr. schools (35) around the country; and
- A trip to Los Angeles for 15 students to help provide security and act as hosts for the 1985 shareholders' meeting.

The 1985-86 year saw yet another principal appointed (the third in the partnership's brief history) and the return of Richard Kaplan as program coordinator. Funded activities were similar to those in earlier years; the grant was largely directed to after-school activities and student parties, awards and incentives. No major new program activities were developed.

III. KEY PROGRAM FEATURES

The American Can partnership program did not originate as a structured program for students, but rather was intended as a flexible and evolving response to school needs. Program activities have developed in a variety of ways with no clear overall direction or focus. While some program activities have apparently become entrenched, others wax and wane on an annual basis, making the definition of partnership activities a difficult one. Nevertheless, in the partnership experience to date, three different kinds of activities can be identified.

The first group of activities include those funded on an annual basis by the $25,000 grant. These include funding for after-school activities, student incentives, school equipment, etc. These activities vary from year to year and are based on a budget submitted to American Can by the coordinating committee (with the approval of the principal).

A second kind of activity, above and beyond the programs funded by the $25,000, is one that develops from a specific school need or from American Can's desire to offer a particular service. These project activities are generally designed to provide one-time assistance for a particular activity and, like the first group, vary from year to year. For example, the photography club may request additional equipment or expertise, and the American Can coordinator will attempt to provide the needed money or staff assistance. Similarly, an American Can staffer may become involved in the MLK program and decide to offer tutorial or technical assistance.

Among the programs in this category are the following:

- A legal affairs program, including observation of courtroom proceedings, tours of law offices, and lectures by law professionals.
- A four-year college scholarship awarded each year to an outstanding MLK graduate ($1,000 per year).
- A video newspaper project involving students in writing, producing and editing student "news copy," which is transmitted via computer to a television monitor in the cafeteria.
- Photography and audio-visual clubs enabling students with different talents and training to learn photography and audio-visual production skills. Together, these clubs have produced an award-winning multi-media show about the school.

- A computer literacy program for MLK faculty members conducted at American Can as a base for further computer training.

- American Can personnel working with students and faculty in producing recruiting materials, student handbooks, magazines and school exhibits.

- A World of Work program that offers students tours of American Can Company plants and subsidiary offices as well as training in job interviewing and resumé preparation.

- A financial education program in conjunction with economics classes featuring tours of the New York Stock Exchange, stock-tracking competitions and lectures involving American Can financial officers.

A third kind of project activity involves the internship program and the Security Club.

The Internship Program

The Internship Program was established in the 1983-84 academic year at the request of Martin Luther King, Jr. staff. The program involves 15 students each term in nonpaying work experience. Total participation to date has been 50 students.

Students participating in the program spend one day a week for eight weeks at American Can headquarters. Students work from 9:30 A.M. to 3 P.M. with minivan transportation to and from MLK provided by American Can. Lunch is also provided by American Can.

The program is run by American Can staff under the supervision of an American Can intern coordinator. Students are placed in a variety of departments including Legal Affairs, Treasury, Public Relations and Maintenance. Most work is of a clerical nature, with the student typically responsible for answering phones, typing, drafting and some bookkeeping.

Planning for the internship was the responsibility of American Can's partnership committee with most details handled by the interim coordinator. All intern supervisors are volunteers. Initially, there was some reluctance to participate, with one of the program coordinators noting that getting headquarters staff involved was like "pulling teeth." Resistance and tension stemmed from prevailing unfavorable perception of the MLK student body as "ghetto youth" and a reluctance to be involved in extra work. Since the beginning of the program, however, there has been a growing acceptance and willingness to work with student interns, as well as the development of strong personal bonds between staff and students.

No doubt some credit for the ready acceptance of the interns can be given to the fairly select group of students participating. Recruitment and selection of students is the responsibility of MLK program coordinator Kaplan. Students are recommended by MLK teachers based on regular school attendance and motivation, and then screened by Kaplan. In 1985 there were 35 applicants for 13 positions in the program. Although grades were not a determining criteria, the emphasis on motivation and the clear desire to present a good image to American Can often resulted in the most academically capable being selected.

It is difficult to attribute any specific outcomes to the program other than an increase in mutual respect, goodwill and involvement among American Can employees and MLK students. However, based on post-program discussions with students, coordinator Kaplan reports:

> Most of the kids changed their career orientation to one that would require post-secondary education. They also tended to raise their own career expectations as a result of the program. Their responses have been overwhelmingly positive, as have their American Can mentors' evaluation of their performance.

It should be emphasized again that internships were unpaid and not intended to lead to a full-time position. American Can staff contended that payment would be "a dangerous precedent," and saw the job experience as being in itself a substantial benefit. Other reasons advanced for lack of payment included a reluctance to interfere with student part-time jobs, the relative inaccessibility of American Can to Manhattan and fear of employee resentment due to widespread corporate layoffs in 1982. Full-time employment following an internship program was rejected as inappropriate due to a lack of entry-level positions at corporate headquarters and the need for further education for most positions.

The Security Club

The Security Club grew out of planning and preparation for the 1984 American Can shareholders' meeting, during which students assisted in security efforts. The program, begun in fall 1983, is run on a semester basis and provides training and placement of students in jobs in the security field. Total participation to date is 250 students, with 30-40 enrolled in a typical semester.

The course was created by Richard Post, American Can security director in conjunction with the MLK staff, the Burns Security

Agency and the John Jay School of Criminal Justice. The 70-hour program designed to meet Burns' standards for certification as security guards, is taught twice weekly by personnel of Burns, American Can, John Jay and MLK.

The curriculum is fairly wide-ranging, covering a variety of security-related topics including crime prevention, investigation, business security, emergency service and substance abuse. Regular classroom sessions are supplemented by guest security professionals from companies such as IBM, Bristol-Meyers, Exxon, ITT and Chemical Bank who lecture on a variety of topics. In addition, field trips to corporate headquarters are held to provide on-site observation of corporate security systems.

The first year of program operation was evaluated by an outside research group who detailed a number of operational problems. The program was found to be lacking in sufficient structure, students were inattentive, discipline was lax, and attendance requirements were not being enforced. In one respect, the course was too successful; several students in the first year were so impressed with their prospects of full-time employment in the security field that they quit school before graduation to take a full-time position with Burns.

As a result of these problems, the second year of operation saw some changes. Program requirements were stiffened, particularly with regard to attendance, and students were required to remain in school until graduation in order to receive a certificate of course completion.

Outcomes of the security program have been fairly positive. Of the 250 students who have participated, 125 have completed the program and 50 have been placed in full- or part-time security positions. Virtually all students completing the course have passed Burns' qualifying test, and company officials note the quality and knowledge of program graduates compares favorably with that of other job applicants.

IV. PROGRAM STRUCTURE AND ROLES

As with program features, the allocation of roles and responsibilities has been an evolving process, depending in part on available personnel and the particular program activities extant at any given time. There are many points of contact between American Can and MLK, with no set pattern for requests for assistance.

THE SCHOOL ROLE

The school role in the partnership activities varies according to the three types of activities offered:

1. The $25,000 grant. The school evaluates competing priorities, prepares a budget, and then allocates and supervises expenditures.

2. Other program requests. This area is more difficult to define. The pattern of the partnership to date has been for individual teachers or after-school activity leaders to request American Can assistance for particular projects above and beyond budgeted requests. In these cases the teacher, working through the MLK coordinator or communicating directly with the American Can coordinator, prepares a request for funding and then, alone or in conjunction with American Can staff, plans and operates the program activity.

3. Ongoing programs. Roles in the internship and security programs are more fully prescribed. For the Internship program the school is responsible only for recruitment and selection of participants. The school plays a somewhat larger role in the Security Club, recruiting and selecting participants, coordinating meeting time and place, and providing day-to-day supervision of students.

THE SCHOOL STRUCTURE

The school program is run by the program coordinator, Richard Kaplan, with a pro forma review role played by the principal. Although there is a "planning committee" of teacher volunteers, this group's involvement to date has been limited. The Board of Education and the Join-A-School committee have played no substantive role to date beyond routine approval, when needed, of school expenditures.

THE BUSINESS ROLE

American Can is responsible for funding all activities, for providing technical assistance, for initiating projects on an as-needed basis (i.e., as with the shareholders' meeting) and for operating the two major ongoing programs, the Internship and Security Projects as well as other one-time or ongoing projects.

In addition to funding the annual $25,000 grant, American Can has provided funding, staff support and technical assistance for a wide variety of other projects. American Can has also secured the assistance of two of its subsidiaries, Sam Goody Stores and National Benefit Life Insurance, and one of its contractors, Burns Security, for part of the activities funded at MLK. In operating the Internship and Security Programs, American Can is responsible for planning, design, curriculum development, supervision, selection of mentors and lecturers and transportation (for the Internship Program).

THE BUSINESS STRUCTURE

The partnership program is administered by a committee consisting of eight staff members. One of these members, Ken Koprowski, is program manager. Koprowski has overall responsibility for coordinating program activities and serves as a liaison between the school and American Can. Individual requests for funding are directed through Koprowski. Other American Can staff have direct operating responsibility for the Internship and Security Programs.

V. NATURE OF YOUTH SERVED

The kinds of youth served, the means of recruitment and program targeting for partnership programs varied, depending on the particular program activity offered. Since most program activities were launched spur-of-the-moment with no clearly articulated goals, little was done in the way of establishing standards for recruitment, targeting or eligibility. This was particularly true with the after-school activities sponsored by American Can, where attendance was essentially open to all and little formal recruitment was done.

THE SECURITY PROGRAM

Recruitment for the Security Program is accomplished through announcements over school public address system and by the program director and individual teachers informing students of the program. Some students were also recruited by friends already in the program. Recruitment for the after-school program has been hampered by the great expansion in after-school activities resulting from the American Can after-school grant and by the need of many students to hold part-time jobs.

Throughout the tenure of the program and particularly in the first year, little attention was paid to targeting students for recruitment, with emphasis instead simply on getting a sufficient number of students to attend. Lack of targeting has resulted in problems for ESL students brought into the program: according to Burns officials, they are unlikely to be placed on job sites due to language difficulties. According to available information, targeting standards have yet to be established. Youth in the program are roughly representative of the school as a whole, though the percentage of female students participating appears to be lower than in the general school population.

INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

Recruitment for the Internship Program is accomplished primarily through teacher recommendations of likely students. Recruitment efforts are targeted at above average students, those who are, in most respects, the "cream of the crop." Although grades are not considered a primary criterion (a C average is required), program requirements of strong motivation, attendance and a teacher's letter of recommendation combined with the school's desire to send the most presentable students to American Can, result in a target population of the top 25 percent of the student body. Admission to the Internship Program is competitive, with roughly one-third of the applicants accepted. Most internship positions are clerical. As a result, self-selection has largely limited participation to female students. Virtually all students complete the eight-to-12 week Internship Program.

VI. COSTS

BUSINESS CONTRIBUTION

It is difficult to estimate costs in a program of this kind. While American Can Foundation contributions are readily identifiable, there are myriad other expenditures--in equipment, staff time, transportation, supplies, food, lodging, travel and other costs which are not easily quantifiable by an outside evaluator. (American Can does reportedly have a separate budget line encompassing most of these partnership costs, but this information was not available to research staff.)

1. Cash: Cash contributions by American Can include the following:

   In Program - Direct Cost

o Annual Program Grant ($25,000 grant for four years)	$100,000	
o Internship Program Costs	4,000	estimate
o Security Program Costs	4,000	estimate
Total	$108,000	

   Related Program for National Projects

o Security Program Expansion	$ 90,000
o Martin Luther King, Jr. Network	85,000
Total	$175,000

2. In-kind: In-kind expenditures are difficult to estimate. Identifiable staff time contributions include:

   - Security Director (10% of time, four years)
   - Security Program Manager (15% of time)
   - Program Manager (5% of time, three years)
   - Internship Coordinator (5-10% of time, one year)
   - Corporation Chairman (1-3% of time, four years).

   In addition to these known regular contributions, the partnership has involved at least 100 professional staff over the four-year relationship on a per project basis as well as considerable donation of equipment and other in-kind services.

While the total contribution of American Can is difficult to estimate, one company analyst reports an American Can regular budget line of approximately $125,000 per year devoted to partnership activities, for a total of roughly $500,000 excluding grants of the American Can Foundation. When these are added, the American Can contribution approaches $700,000.

SCHOOL

The school contribution has been relatively small, comprising a portion of coordinator Kaplan's time and the use of school space for a program office and the Security Club meetings.

This is not surprising given the nature of the partnership design. In keeping with American Can Chairman Woodside's desire to direct corporate resources at helping solve problems of urban schools, the financial commitment required of MLK is low.

VII. OUTCOMES

The nature of the partnership established between American Can and Martin Luther King, Jr. precludes the determination of quantifiable outcomes due to both programmatic objectives and the nature of the services offered. First, because the partnership was initiated largely with the intent of changing perceptions--of improving morale at MLK and increasing the degree of social responsibility at American Can--outcomes must be judged more on the basis of attitudinal change than on measurable gains in specific areas. Second, the concentration on providing a wide variety of services on a short-term basis to a diverse population makes it difficult to impute specific changes solely to the American Can intervention. This is particularly true given the high turnover in student population and the three separate administrations and significant staff changes that have occurred during the American Can tenure.

Although few direct effects on school improvement indicators can be attributed to the American Can/MLK partnership, it is useful to consider school-level changes that have occurred recently. The annual attendance rate at MLK in the 1981-82 school year was 70.14 percent; this improved to 72.8 percent in the 1983-84 academic year. Likewise, school enrollment, which was 1,248 in 1981-82 and 1,127 in 1982-83, showed a dramatic increase to 2,500 in 1983-84; and 2,800 in 1984-85. In fall 1986, student enrollment approached 3,000.

Some of this gain, particularly in years of falling high school enrollment citywide, might well be attributed to both the improved reputation of MLK and to the American Can-supported efforts of the school to attract more students from its feeder schools.

However, another indicator of improvement, the percentage of eligible students who actually graduated from the school showed a decline from 83.5 percent in 1981-82 to 63.4 percent in 1982-83 and 77.2 percent in 1983-84. The reading level of students in the 9th, 10th and 11th grades improved substantially between 1981 and 1984, though the level of 12th-grade students declined.

In terms of measures of attitudinal change in MLK, a more definitive judgment can be made. American Can's involvement, and particularly its sponsorship of after-school activities for over 300 students, resulted in clear benefits to the school. Virtually every staff member interviewed credits American Can involvement with improving morale at MLK. Staff note major improvement in school atmosphere, student and staff attitudes and overall school safety. They attribute much of this success to the after-school activities that had been impossible to mount until American Can provided assistance, and also to the general air of excitement that planning the shareholders' meeting and its many offshoot initiatives created during the second year of the partnership. As one enthusiastic after-school activity leader said of the partnership, "It has been a dynamic catalyst in moving this school away from the brink of disaster. American Can has made the difference."

Direct benefits of the partnership to individual students varied with their degree of participation in sponsored activities. For those 200 or so students most involved with American Can through the convention planning, internship and security programs, a variety of potential additional benefits were derived, including:

- The benefit of working with strong, successful role models often absent in student lives;
- A boost to student self-esteem and self-image resulting from the clear personal commitment and attention of senior corporate executives; and
- Exposure to the corporate world and consequent widening of student ambition and outlook, including the possibility of higher education.

IMPACT ON AMERICAN CAN

Measured in the terms that they feel are most important to American Can, American Can executive staff feel they have derived considerable benefit from the relationship with MLK. One member involved in the program from the outset stated that in his opinion the firm has gained considerably more benefits than it has rendered to the school. These gains are largely perceived to be the considerable first-hand experience a number of senior corporate executives and other headquarters staff have had in working in MLK or directly with MLK's teachers and students. They believe that the CEO's goal of having staff better understand the problems of public schools and becoming more supportive of efforts to assist public schools in general have been significantly realized.

The CEO, William Woodside, agrees with this assessment. In a recent speech he said:

> In my own company, as a result of our Join-A-School program experiences with Martin Luther King, Jr. High School, I can identify people who two years ago never thought twice about the public schools but who now are among their most articulate and effective advocates--both within the company and within their own communities.

Perceptions of senior management about program impact, while clearly descriptive of some employees, may be less accurate in reflecting the company as a whole. Many American Can employees appear to exhibit a marked ambivalence about both the extent and nature of the partnership. While supporting the program in general terms, employees, and in particular new participants, saw little in the linkage that could directly benefit the company. Moreover, there was a widespread perception that Chairman Woodside was devoting too much time to partnership activities to the possible future detriment of the company's financial position.

VIII. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

The American Can partnership model is one that is different from others explored in these profiles. Its focus is not on the individual student, but rather on the school as a whole; not in improving quantifiable outcomes--employment, education, attendance records--but rather on changing attitudes in both school and corporation. Judged on the promotion of this kind of attitudinal change, the American Can/MLK partnership is clearly a success. Although Martin Luther King, Jr. has not "turned around" to as great an extent as had been hoped, it is clearly a better place due in large part to American Can's intervention. And while questions can be raised about the depth and likely longevity of American Can's commitment, the company has achieved, to some degree, its goals of increasing staff involvement in the schools and promoting a sense of social responsibility among employees.

The strengths of the American Can program derived primarily from the commitment of the CEO, William Woodside. Woodside is clearly the driving force behind this partnership, donating his personal time and effort and ensuring MLK access to American Can resources, staff and technical assistance. Woodside's decision to hold the shareholders' meeting at MLK despite the opposition of American Can staff, gave life to the partnership program and was evidence of a highly unusual and personal commitment to an effort of this kind. Stemming directly from Woodside's involvement was the generous financial and staff commitment of American Can. As discussed above, total expenditures are at least $350,000 and quite likely considerably higher if staff time and all additional equipment costs are included.

While the partnership did not engage the majority of American Can employees, well over 100 employees participated in partnership efforts; many demonstrated a strong personal commitment to the cause. MLK also appeared to have good access to American Can equipment and technical resources.

A second strength of the partnership was the commitment of the MLK coordinator, Richard Kaplan. Kaplan exhibited vision and belief in what the private sector could do to help an inner-city school and his competence was undeniably a factor in the partnership's success.

It is ironic that the degree of personal commitment that has made the partnership a success to date is also its greatest operational weakness. While Woodside's support is undoubted, it is considerably less clear that others at American Can fully share this degree of commitment. Staff interviewed at American Can expressed some doubt that the program will continue after the CEO's retirement.

One reason for the lack of commitment at American Can may be the simple absence of relevance to the company of the MLK partnership. Interviews with staff suggest that the lack of a direct link between the students at MLK and the employment and training needs of American Can has limited employee support for the program. A second and more subtle limitation has been MLK's location in New York City, a place that is apparently more remote from the lives of American Can employees than geography alone might suggest. According to one staffer interviewed, MLK's Manhattan address has effectively placed it beyond the pale for American Can staff, many of whom have moved to Connecticut from other parts of the country and seldom, if ever, visit New York City. The false image of Martin Luther King, Jr. as a "ghetto" school has reinforced the perception some employees hold of New York as a dangerous place and is undoubtedly seen, along with the 45 minutes to one hour required for travel, as a barrier to participation. It is somewhat ironic that this is the case, for Martin Luther King, Jr. has one of the best locations of any high school in the city, adjacent to an expensive Upper West Side neighborhood and across the street from Lincoln Center.

Another barrier to an effective MLK partnership is the continued changes in staff and leadership, which could eventually derail the program or at least blunt its effectiveness. Until now, the program's momentum has rested on the continued interest and enthusiasm of key individuals at both American Can and MLK, rather than on an established structure of programs and institutionalized events.

A third concern, ironically, is the tremendous success of the program in 1983-84 during the planning and execution of the shareholders' meeting. The level of excitement engendered by the program, and the many projects it spawned, will be very hard to match. The danger is that without such galvanizing events, everything that follows the shareholders' meeting of 1984 may be viewed as anticlimactic.

Ultimately, a more fundamental weakness may lie in the model itself. Although attitudinal change was evident, indication of more solid outcomes was scant. For all the commitment of resources, expertise and staff, it would be difficult (apart from the Security Program) to point to students who stayed in school or advanced their employment prospects or who otherwise achieved significant tangible benefits as a result of this partnership.

In light of this disadvantaged population's evident needs for jobs, education, counseling and higher education, it may be that the resources of American Can could be better employed if more narrowly focused. Rather than aim for a broad impact on the school community as a whole, MLK might be better served through programs targeting individual needs for tutoring, paid work experience, college scholarships, etc. Such a redefinition would be well within the scope of American Can's mandate and might well prove to be a more efficient and more effective use of the partnership's available resources.

In a broader perspective, it may well be that a model like the MLK/American Can partnership cannot be sustained. The lack of relevance of the partner school to the corporation works against the continuation of this linkage. Geographical distance, perceptual differences and the absence of clear economic, employment or educational rationales make this partnership entirely dependent on a powerfully placed corporate champion, a factor that creates a tenuous base for future prospects.

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

California Regional Occupational Centers and Programs
State of California

by Bernard J. McMullan and Phyllis Snyder

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. HISTORY AND GOALS 5

III. ROC/P ORGANIZATION 9

IV. PROGRAM IN ACTION 17

V. YOUTH SERVED 23

VI. BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT 27

VII. CONCLUSIONS 31

FIGURES

III.1. Examples of Courses and Programs Offered by the Los Angeles Regional Occupational Program (Spring 1986) 14

I. INTRODUCTION

Regional Occupational Centers and Regional Occupational Programs (ROC/Ps) operate throughout the state of California as part of the public education system. They were formed in 1968 to "provide high quality vocational and technical job training opportunities to a larger number of the population than can be provided adequately, efficiently, and economically by a single school or district." They serve youth who are 16 and older, and adults--more than 300,000 persons during the 1984-85 school year. Students generally take ROC/P courses to supplement their high school curricula, often taking classes during free periods, after school or on weekends. Districts vary on how much credit toward graduation a student may earn by taking ROC/P classes.

ROC/Ps may differ in structure along several dimensions. ROC/Ps can be administered by a single large school district, two or more districts jointly, or a county school office. Some sites have built a separate facility where classes are taught. These sites are commonly known as centers. In many ways they resemble vocational high schools. In contrast, programs use existing facilities--high schools, community centers, space in private industry. Course offerings must be justified by unmet labor market needs in the area served by the program. Funding for instruction, administration and supplies for the 68 different programs and centers is provided by the state and is allocated according to course enrollment within each program or center. The business sector contributes equipment and technical advice, serves as an important source for instructors and often acts as a "community classroom" for ROP classes.

California's ROC/P initiative is part of the state's vocational education system. It differs in several respects from other collaborations between schools and businesses that are part of Public/Private Venture's study and was included for several reasons.

First, in contrast with many collaboration initiatives, the impetus and locus of control of ROC/Ps are firmly in public education. Management rests with a state government agency and not with an intermediary organization directed by the private sector. Business participation is sought as an adjunct to the larger effort to increase the availability of quality vocational education within the state.

Second, the statewide scope offers an opportunity to observe a program whose scale and potential impact exceed that of the other partnerships in the study.

Third, the immediate goals of ROC/Ps--adequate vocational preparation for and improved access to entry-level employment--do not vary substantially from the goals of other collaborations being studied. To the extent that many of the same employment and training goals are achieved, ROC/Ps offer an interesting contrast to programs that are characterized by substantial leadership and direction by the private sector.

The 68 ROC/Ps have the flexibility to develop in a manner that is most appropriate to local conditions. However, they share a number of common features mandated by the state's Department of Education. These features distinguish ROC/Ps from many other programs, as follows:

- The primary objective of the ROC/P initiative is to prepare teenage and adult students for employment. Educational change, dropout prevention and other goals are secondary.

- Approval for introducing courses requires documentation from local professional organizational and government agencies that job growth in the industry is projected in the local area.

- Teachers must not only be certified in the particular subject area, but have experience in the industry for which they are preparing students. It is frequently the network of contacts that instructors bring with them that provides the students with leads for employment.

- Although skill training is the primary focus of ROC/P courses, incorporated into all of the courses is instruction in job search skills.

- Courses are taught both in schools and at the workplace, frequently encouraging adults who might be uncomfortable attending classes in schools to enroll.

- Enrollment and attendance at ROC/P classes are voluntary, and the funding is based on average daily attendance rates. Therefore, programs must develop active recruitment strategies and promote course offerings. Frequently, this gives local programs "an entrepreneurial cast" according to a recent report on vocational education in California.

- ROC/P classes are available to people of varying ages and from widely different economic and educational backgrounds, and to the handicapped. This reduces the likelihood of stereotyping the courses by limiting them to one segment of the population.

- The program strives to be sensitive to the employment and training needs of local business, and, in return, seeks access to equipment and classroom space from local industry.

This profile describes the goals, origins, context, structure and key features of the program. Since it was impossible to visit all 68 sites, staff gathered information based on visits to three of the larger sites. In keeping with the study's focus on exemplary models of school/business collaborations, the three sites were chosen as good examples of the model that also reflected the diversity of ROC/P operations and settings. Information was gathered by two researchers over a total of seven days through focused and unstructured interviews, observations and review of documentary materials. The head of the statewide organization of ROC/Ps was also interviewed. The three ROC/P sites visited were the Contra Costa ROP near San Francisco, the Los Angeles County ROP, and the South California ROC located in Torrance. Since observations were limited, impressions and descriptions reported in this profile are only illustrative of some of the activities that occur within the ROC/P framework. The many variations in operation and delivery of the ROC/P model throughout California are not represented.

The remainder of this profile describes the Regional Occupational Program/Center model in detail. Chapter II briefly presents the history and goals of the initiative. Chapter III reviews the different administrative structures that have developed and summarizes the responsibilities and activities of key positions in individual ROC/Ps. Chapter IV records illustrations of the program in action, describing its instructional component and job placement activities. Chapter V profiles the youth and adults served, and Chapter VI characterizes the nature of business involvement. The concluding chapter characterizes some of the key lessons that can be learned from the ROC/P model.

II. HISTORY AND GOALS

California's vocational education delivery system has two main components. At the secondary level, vocational education is provided through comprehensive high schools and ROC/Ps. At the postsecondary level, vocational education is delivered through community colleges.

The impetus for ROC/Ps was generated from individual school districts' escalating costs to offer a wide range of vocational educational courses. The facilities, equipment and materials needed for vocational training took a large share of available funds. In addition, standards used to accredit vocational programs required constant upgrading of facilities and equipment. At the same time, demand for these courses within individual school districts was not always sufficient. School districts were thus faced with the dilemma of limiting vocational educational offerings or allocating substantial funds to under-utilized programs.

The consequences of such policies were clear. Many students would be prepared in the same few vocational areas and would ultimately compete for increasingly scarce jobs, while other technically oriented positions went unfilled because no training was available. Public school administrators appealed to the state for assistance in resolving the problem. They argued that one solution was to give individual school districts access to shared resources--facilities, equipment and materials--and provide students within these districts the opportunity to take vocational education courses in other school districts. The ROC/P model was developed to coordinate these shared resources among individual school districts without diminishing their autonomy or reducing their overall school enrollments.

Initial legislation allowing school districts to form regional vocational high schools was passed in 1963, but there was considerable resistance to the concept of "trade schools." In 1965, the legislation was amended to allow the creation of Regional Occupational Centers. Later years saw expansion of the legislation to allow instruction of adults, year-round operation and the development of "programs" (ROPs) in addition to "centers."

Throughout this period of constantly changing requirements and definitions, the growth of ROC/Ps was slow. Only two centers (ROCs) had been created by 1968. However, with the legislative change allowing school districts the option of operating joint programs (ROPs), 15 programs were inaugurated in 1969. New programs and centers continued to be added throughout the 1970s and 1980s and by 1986, a total of 68 centers and programs were in operation. Currently, only a few isolated sections of the state are not served by a program or center. ROC/Ps are the only high school program in California completely funded by the state.

Strict requirements govern the courses a program or center may offer. Skill training must be in occupational fields that have current and future employment needs and these needs must be documented by local labor market surveys. The training itself is structured to meet business' needs and concerns, including such features as open entry (allowing students to begin a training program at any time thereby creating a constant flow of trained employees), teachers with industry experience and training to industry specifications on equipment often made available by industry. The education provided by these programs is often innovative, crosses many educational and jurisdictional boundaries and seeks to differentiate itself from traditional vocational education. The following goals and objectives summarize the ROC/P initiative:

- By design, training programs are offered by several schools or districts jointly so they can pool resources, serve a larger group of participants and reduce duplication.

- It provides a structure for bringing together schools and businesses for their mutual benefit. Representatives of industry serve on advisory panels that review the match between curriculum and jobs available in their industry. Many businesses also allow ROC/P courses to be taught on their premises using company equipment, often employing company personnel as ROC/P instructors. Businesses are also actively involved in work/study programs for ROC/P students and seek to hire graduates.

- The programs recruit students from a spectrum of educational achievement and economic backgrounds; no one segment of the school or adult population is targeted. And despite the clear training objectives of the program, ROC/P has, as a result, avoided the stigma often attached to vocational programs.

- It brings together state and local education agencies without sacrificing local autonomy and control. Participation in the ROC/P initiative allows local school districts access to additional teaching and funding resources that supplement their existing curriculum.

- The location of ROP classes in a variety of business, community and school settings, and the scheduling of classes both during and after the school day increase accessibility for both youth

> and adults who might otherwise be unable to attend classes. Although serving high school dropouts is not a specific mandate of the program, staff report that some dropouts are attracted to ROC/P classes because skill training is provided.

The goals of ROC/Ps, then, are relatively simple. They are designed to supplement the vocational training capacity of schools throughout California. Their strength derives from their ability to transcend jurisdictional boundaries and thereby increase the range of training opportunities for students in multiple school districts. The link between training and employment is emphasized and becomes a standard by which individual program components are evaluated. The following chapters describe the arrangements that have been devised to meet these objectives and provide some illustrations of the delivery of the program.

III. ROC/P ORGANIZATION

The California Regional Occupational Centers and Programs are part of a statewide bureaucracy. This chapter reviews the key organizational components of the ROC/P model. First, it considers the similarities and differences between the two variations of the initiative--programs and centers; second, it describes three different ROC/P administrative structures; and finally, it reviews the responsibilities and activities of key positions the system.

STATE ORGANIZATION

Individual Centers and Programs operate relatively autonomously. Their day-to-day operations are governed by the local boards described below. No separate ROP/C agency exists at the state level. However, the Vocational Educational Unit of the State Department of Education retains oversight responsibility for course approval and certification. ROC/Ps are funded primarily by state apportionments; state lottery receipts also contribute a small portion of ROC/P funds. Funds are allocated to each of the 68 separate programs based on the average daily attendance (ADA) for their respective courses.

The system is well-enough established to warrant its own association of administrators, staff and professionals--the California Association of ROC/Ps--which holds an annual statewide meeting in California to discuss common problems and solutions in administering and operating ROC/Ps.

REGIONAL OCCUPATIONAL PROGRAMS AND CENTERS

A Regional Occupational Program (ROP) and a Regional Occupational Center (ROC) differ in operation. Although the Program option was initiated several years after California began this supplementary approach to vocational education, it is by far the more common model. Fifty-seven of the 68 operating units are identified as programs. A program uses existing school and business facilities as the sites of instruction, though it may lease space to offer classes. Its staff consists of administrators, coordinators, counselors and support personnel. Some ROP teachers are recruited for specific courses and hired on a part-time basis.

In contrast, an ROC operates out of its own separate facility. Its staff includes administrators, counselors in area high schools, support staff and a complete vocational educational faculty. In essence, a Center shares many contains of a traditional regional vocational high school. For example, the Southern California Regional Occupational Center (SCROC) is located in a large complex of buildings erected to house it. It contains impressive facilities for vocational training. A full staff, including a superintendent, assistant director, registrar and other personnel administer the ROC. A faculty of 81 teach the courses. Most centers also operate classes and activities at satellites, usually at businesses and other schools, a system identical to that of the program model. The bulk of vocational training activities, however, take place within a center's facilities.

Some interesting contrasts emerge when comparing the program and the center models. The program theoretically offers greater flexibility in responding to new employment demands. Its greater reliance on classrooms in business locations, access to business equipment, and restriction of teaching staff to those currently needed allow it to adapt to market demands. At the same time, however, the program model can be vulnerable to changing support in the state and business community.

This situation is reversed for centers. Here, costs are greater at the beginning and the initial investment can tend to limit offerings to those occupations for which the facility is designed. Its reliance on a permanent staff also constrains its ability to respond to quickly changing employment needs. However, these same factors make centers less vulnerable, since closing a facility and laying off a permanent staff would require economic and political justification.

ADMINISTRATIVE OPTIONS

Three different administrative formats can be employed to govern an ROC/P. The format chosen depends on whether the ROC/P operates in a single school district, serves all school districts within an entire county or combines the resources of multiple school districts.

Single School Districts. Only two single school district ROPs exist--Los Angeles City ROP and Long Beach ROP. In these cases, boards of education are also the controlling boards of the ROPs.

County ROC/Ps. These are the most common administrative structures, governing 42 of the existing ROC/P sites. As in the single school district option, county ROC/Ps are directed by such existing educational authorities as the county school superintendent and the county board of education.

Joint Powers Agreements. These require that individual school districts appoint representatives to a steering committee that directs ROC/P activities. The remaining 24 ROC/Ps are based on Joint Powers Agreements, which may be carried out in a variety of ways. The following are examples of such agreements:

- The Los Angeles County ROP (LACROP) is a Joint Powers Program. Twenty-five separate school districts combined in 1974 to create the program. These districts had previously resisted, for a variety of reasons, joining other ROPs in Los Angeles County and the Los Angeles County superintendent of schools strongly suggested that they come together to form a new ROP. Under the Joint Powers Agreement, each participating school district sends one representative to a steering committee for LACROP. This steering committee has no authority, but it does carry considerable clout in LACROP decisions. For example, the steering committee's recommendations have only been overruled by LACROP only once or twice in the past 10 years and then only over specific personnel policy matters.

- The Southern California ROC serves students residing in six different school districts. Each school district board has appointed one of its members to serve on the Center's governing board which controls its activities and programs.

- Contra Costa ROP encompasses the nine high school districts within the county and two districts in neighboring Alameda County. The county Board of Education oversees and coordinates the relationship between the ROP and the county's adult education programs, its 27 high schools and three community colleges.

KEY ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The staff of ROC/Ps perform a variety of duties including teacher recruitment, production of materials, advertising courses, student placement, certification/justification of new courses and continuing courses, determination of the needs for individual courses and negotiation with individual schools on use of ROC/P equipment when ROC/P classes do not require their use.

LACROP provides a good example of the range and functioning of positions encountered in a ROC/P office. LACROP is the second largest ROP in the state. More than 50 staff are employed in the ROP office, including coordinators, consultants and support staff. In addition, LACROP employs 16 counselors who serve the participating district high schools. The types of roles and responsibilities described here can be found in most ROC/P units throughout the state.

Coordinators. The determination of courses and programs to be offered and the recruitment of teachers is handled by the coordinator-in-charge. Coordinators work out of the central LACROP office and are assigned a number of school districts relative to the district's size and level of participation in LACROP. Coordinators are assisted by administrative aides and by counselors from the high schools in the assigned districts.

The coordinator role includes negotiation with the individual school districts and their participating high schools. Coordinators try to accommodate the needs of individual schools by scheduling LACROP courses at times that complement the other needs of the school, by obtaining equipment using ROC/P funds that can most effectively be shared by the host school and by offering courses in high schools where budget reductions have forced the elimination of some vocational programs. For example, one of the program's benefits to school districts and schools is access to equipment ROC/P when classes are not meeting. Thus, individual school principals have access to computers, laboratory equipment and other vocational training equipment for their regular academic and vocational education courses.

Coordinators also act as primary recruiters for instructors. In some instances, high school teachers who teach vocational courses are hired to teach additional ROC/P-paid sections. In other cases, instructors are recruited from industry by word-of-mouth, through industry advisory committees or by advertisement in local newspapers.

Program Specialists. Coordinators are assisted in their course planning and development work by program specialists. These specialists have responsibility for monitoring and developing courses in particular subject areas, such as health, office automation and skilled trades. Subject specialists work out of the LACROP central office and oversee curricula in all districts served by the ROP. A few subject specialists are also coordinators; others are consultants hired specifically to monitor particular topics.

Counselors. The most visible link between individual high schools and the ROC/P is the program's staff of counselors. Each high school is assigned a ROP guidance counselor. These counselors are responsible for promoting ROC/P offerings in the school, enrolling students for courses, monitoring attendance, making travel arrangements for students who wish to take courses at other high schools, and keeping track of the vocational and other needs at their assigned high school. ROC/P guidance counselors report to the coordinators assigned to their districts. They organize their activities with the high school principal and with the school's own guidance office. In addition, counselors may also work with other job placement and counseling offices (i.e., JTPA) that may be operating at the high school.

Each year, counselors ask all 10th graders in their high schools to fill out an interest survey and take a vocational aptitude test. Based on the results of these, the counselor meets individually with students to suggest courses or curricula in which the student might enroll during his or her remaining two years in high school. The counselor attempts to match students' interests with the wide range of curricula that are available through the ROC/P. In the case of LACROP, more than 125 vocational programs are available and students may elect to enroll in virtually any of them. Figure III.1 lists a sample of the courses and programs that were offered through LACROP during Spring 1986.

Instructors. ROC/P class instructors must, as a rule, have industry experience in their instructional area. Many of the instructors observed during these site visits operated their own business or held a technical position in a local company. While some ROC/P instructors are full-time vocational education instructors in local school districts, a large proportion hold full-time jobs in the private sector. ROC/Ps are given considerable latitude on how instructors are paid. In some areas, a standard rate is applied to each course taught and indexed against years of industry or teaching experience. In other programs, such as LACROP, instructors are paid at the prevailing rate in the school district in which they teach. Since most instructors are part-time employees, the cost of employee benefits is reduced.

Industry experience is not the only requirement for teaching a ROC/P course. All instructors must pass California teacher competency tests in order to continue as instructors in the program. This requirement has led to several dismissals or resignations because the instructor could not meet the state-established minimum competencies. Although some concern has been raised about the consequences of certification as it is applied to industry-based part-time instructors, state teacher standards require that ROC/P adhere to the requirements. State teacher credentialing, in fact, is regularly noted in descriptive materials distributed to employers and students.

Advisory Committees. Each program area in a Regional Occupational Program is required to have an advisory committee composed of representatives of the related local industry. Committee members are volunteers from area business and industry who are recruited by coordinators to assist in planning and implementing the ROC/P curriculum. The role of the advisory committee is to:

- Assist the ROC/P in determining educational needs for their industry;

Figure III.1

EXAMPLES OF COURSES AND PROGRAMS OFFERED BY THE LOS ANGELES REGIONAL OCCUPATIONAL PROGRAM (SPRING 1986)

Accounting clerk
Aircraft ground service
Airframe and powerplant
Auto specialization
Auto body and fender repair
Bank teller
Banking occupations
Barbering
Building remodeling
Building maintenance
Business machine repair
Cable TV installation
Commercial photography
Community counselor aide
Computer programming
Computer applications
Cosmetology
Dental assisting
EEG technician
EKG technician
Electronics occupations
Emergency medical technician
Fashion Coordination/merchandising
Floristry
Food service management/Restaurant occupations
Greenhouse operations
Health care administrative assistant
Hospital Ward Clerk
Hotel/motel occupations
Industrial drafting
Infant care
Instructional aide
Interior design/merchandising
Landscaping
Licensed vocational nurse
Machine shop
Manicurist
Medical assisting
Medical transcription
Motorcycle repair
Nurse assistant
Office occupations
Ornamental horticulture
Printing occupations
Proof machine operator
Recreational worker/health club
Retail sales
Security guard service
Silkscreen
Small business management
Stage technology
T.V. productions
Tow truck/emergency operator
Travel occupations
Welding
Word/information processing

- Assist in determining the content and length of courses;
- Maintain public relations;
- Set standards for student selection; and
- Assist in conducting community surveys.

Advisory committees must meet at least once a year to review progress in the program, air issues and make suggestions.

Business involvement extends beyond serving on advisory committees. Many offer ROC/Ps the use of their facilities as classrooms and offer cooperative education slots for students. In addition, as noted above, business serves as a major of ROC/P instructors.

The structure of the ROC/P model is complex. Its variations in design and implementation make definitive characterizations difficult. The picture is further complicated because the ROC/P must work in tandem with an existing school bureaucracy. However, ROC/P is able to deliver an impressive amount of vocational training throughout California. The next section summarizes P/PV's observations of the actual implementation of this training.

IV. PROGRAM IN ACTION

A great variety of classes and activities is offered within the ROC/P model. This chapter summarizes educational activities, placement activities and requirements, and related programs.

THE EDUCATIONAL COMPONENT

Many instructional techniques are used to teach vocational skills to students in ROC/P--classroom instruction, hands-on exercises during class, work/study opportunities and cooperative education placements of individual students. In the sites observed, most teaching was done through classroom-based instruction, sometimes in the traditional form, i.e., a teacher lecturing before a class of students. However, in a great number of classes visited, tremendous emphasis was placed on doing rather than listening. In these classes, students were engaged in working with CAD/CAM (computer-assisted design/computer-aided manufacturing) equipment, practicing dental hygiene techniques, running printing equipment or doing other hands-on tasks. The registrar at the Southern California Regional Occupation Center (SCROC) emphasized the commitment his facility has to experiential learning. At SCROC, virtually no course books are used and the goal is to have instructors lecture only 20 percent of the time while students "learn by doing" 80 percent of the time. The deemphasis of lecturing by the instructor allows self-paced learning and individualized attention by the instructor during the class period.

Depending on the subject and time, classes vary in length and frequency of meeting. For example, courses that meet during the school day often occur every day and last for 55 minutes. Other classes meet less frequently but may last four-to-six-hours per meeting. Classes that meet after regular school hours are often three or four hours long.

Courses are offered throughout the day and evening. As one staff member noted, "We could offer courses 24 hours a day, 365 days a year." In reality, courses begin as early as 7 a.m. and end by 11 p.m., though most occur in the late afternoon and early evening. Students may take courses throughout the week and on the weekends (Saturdays and Sundays). ROC/P courses can be taken separately, but students are encouraged by counselors to pursue a complete curriculum that leads to a specific job. Thus, SCROC groups courses according to particular occupations and offers a series of sequential courses over several years. Similarly, LACROP and Contra Costa ROP offer courses as part of extensive, comprehensive curricula designed to prepare students for entry-level positions in certain industries. Of course, certain occupations require only a single course. Among these are grocery store clerking and laboratory animals handling.

Some classes are designed to meet the needs of specific groups of students. For example, some sections of a hospitality occupations course offered by SCROC at an area hotel are reserved for special education students. Similarly, LACROP classes preparing students as nursing assistants are designed to serve students with limited English. Most programs also reserve some classes for adults and offer them at sites most accessible to adult students.

Each course offered by an ROP must go through a district, regional and state certification process in order to be eligible for state funding. To be approved, the program must be able to document a direct link between the curriculum and an occupation and, further, must document the availability of entry-level positions in the geographic area. The local ROP must identify the likely pool of students who would be attracted to the course, specify the site(s) where the course will be offered, and provide a detailed description of the course including outlines, instructional materials and methods for assessing competencies of students completing the course.

At the three ROC/P sites visited, generally high quality and up-to-date equipment was available for student use. At the Southern California Regional Occupational Center, what appeared to be items of new automotive, welding, dental and emergency medical (EMT) equipment in place in the classrooms. In the automotive section, for example, a corporation that specializes in automotive paint had recently installed a painting room where students, as part of their automotive restoration class, worked with experimental paints and painting techniques being developed by the paint manufacturer.

In visits to ROP sites in Los Angeles County and Contra Costa County, the same general level of equipment and teaching aids were in evidence. The rows of personal computers being used by students in computer and business courses were the most common evidence of the availability of up-to-date equipment. In addition, students in these programs had access to industry equipment courses that were taught on the premises of local businesses. In one instance, a cosmetology and hairstyling course held at a local proprietary cosmetology and beauty school gave students access to new styling equipment and supplies. In a course on airframe mechanics, students use equipment at a local aircraft manufacturer.

An observation in a report prepared by a major educational research organization underscores the prominence of new equipment offered by ROC/Ps:

> In one high school we visited, two classrooms for office occupations were side by side, one run by a ROC/P

> and the other by the home high school itself. The ROC/P classroom had a word processor at each student station. The classroom administered by the comprehensive high school had manual typewriters--two generations of equipment behind. (PACE, One Million Hours a Day: Vocational Education in California Public Secondary Schools, p. 4)

In addition, the level of teaching observed by P/PV was quite high. Of particular note was the constant use of "real world/ real work" information. In a nursing assistant class for students with limited English speaking ability, the instructor always used working hospital examples and procedures to make her point. Students in a retail merchandizing class taught by an area sales representative were shown advertisements of the stores in which they worked to learn about co-op advertising and advertising layout strategies. In several classes that took place in school print shops, students were producing ROC/P materials, high school catalogs and commercial work for area merchants. The central theme guiding each of these classes was learning to do tasks that were grounded in experiences students would encounter in real jobs.

When appropriate, a program may enter into what is known as a facilities agreement with an employer. LACROP, for example, reports that it has more than 1,000 separate facilities agreements with businesses throughout the Los Angeles area. The facilities agreement designates a business or office as a community classroom in which a class can meet or, more frequently, enables an individual student to be placed on a cooperative education basis. The business agrees to accept a student or students and give them the opportunity to learn by working. Business is not allowed to pay students for the work they do during "co-op time" or class time, but may hire the student to continue the work for additional hours each week. The school district or ROC/P office is responsible for providing an instructor/supervisor--often an employee of the business--and for offering additional training for the student. When a class meets at a business site, the business agrees to set aside a classroom area and provide access to equipment students might require for the course.

A wide variety of businesses participate in these agreements. Many of them host individual students. However, a substantial number of business organizations provide space and access to new equipment for entire classes. For example, a private hospital has for several years provided classroom space and given students assignments in a curriculum designed to prepare students as ward clerks, medical records clerks, and other entry-level positions. The hospital's support for the program has continued despite major changes in its operation and administrative staff. The agreement is coordinated by the hospital receptionist, who teaches many of the classes at the hospital and makes arrangements for students to work with individual departments as part of their course work. At a new large hotel in Torrance, two ROP instructors train students in all aspects of hotel operations, including skills relating to reservations, registration, maintenance and housekeeping, banquets and advertising. The hotel has set aside a room for teaching and regularly accepts dozens of students as co-op workers in all areas of its operations.

Business collaborates with ROC/P for many reasons. In some instances, the connection is an extension of the traditional relationship between business and vocational education. Business offers advice on training and equipment and contracts with the vocational school to do some work--small manufacturing or construction tasks. In other instances, businesses participate in order to get employees trained on their equipment. In such cases, the costs of employee training is being transferred from the corporation to the public sector. In addition, the ROC/P model allows corporations to request special courses specifically designed for them. For example, a large hotel, that allowed the program to use its training facilities for several classes each day and also placed students in co-op positions throughout the year requested that ROP offer an advanced course in the hospitality industry. A third reason for participation by many employers is a desire to help youth be better prepared for a job. Finally, a substantial number of business participants are motivated by individual employees who take personal responsibility for maintaining their company's involvement in the program. These individuals are often part-time ROC/P instructors or supervisors who monitor ROC/P students placed in their company.

Students may receive academic credit for ROC/P courses but few graduate early as a result. For many students, ROC/P classes are additional electives within their course of study. In addition, for some students, especially those for whom continued academic training or vocational training may be economically unfeasible, opt to take the courses to prepare for specific jobs. The reputation of ROC/P in getting students access to good jobs is a strong incentive for many minority and disadvantaged students. One administrator contended that the ROC/P could serve the potentially hard-core unemployed, those who came from families that had been out of the mainstream labor market for several generations. The ROC/P, he said, gave students an opportunity to escape this cycle.

CONTRACTS WITH PROPRIETARY SCHOOLS

ROC/Ps may also contract with area proprietary schools to deliver specialized training to students. Schools of cosmetology and hairstyling are most commonly, used in this manner. Students then have access to a complete curriculum that prepares them to take the state licensing examination in these areas. As in all

ROC/P classes, students do not pay any tuition for these courses, nor are the schools allowed to charge students for materials and supplies. ROC/P pays the proprietary school by student hour at the same rate that non-ROC/P students pay to take the course.

As a safeguard for both the program and the school, ROC/P limits its placement of students to less than 50 percent of the total enrollment of a proprietary school. In this way, in the event that ROC/P decides to terminate its agreement with a proprietary school, it will not be in the position of forcing the school to close because it had become dependent on ROC/P students and funding.

PLACEMENT ACTIVITIES

A key contributor to the ROC/P ability to translate training into jobs for graduates is the requirement that courses be competency-based. Each course has an associated set of competencies that a student must demonstrate. At the completion of the course, the instructor completes a preprinted form for each student, checking off the that the student has achieved and deleting those competencies that the student has failed to demonstrate. The student is awarded a certificate for each course or curriculum completed. On the reverse side of the certificate are printed the specific competencies that this student has achieved and to which the teacher and the ROC/P will attest. Students are encouraged to use these certificates in applying for positions. ROC/P staff and the employers with whom P/PV talked believe that these competency certificates give ROC/P students a competitive edge when seeking employment. Beyond the specific competencies it lists, the certificate also indicates student commitment and an ability to learn. Employers, when faced with a pool of applicants, may use the ROC/P certification to distinguish between otherwise similar candidates.

The second key element of the placement process is the role played by the course instructor. Many instructors are practicing professionals and often use their personal contacts to secure positions for their students. The fact that they are required to attest to the competencies of these students further encourages them to train and monitor students carefully. Administrators and staff note the key role that instructors play in placement and laud their efforts to find students well-paying positions.

As part of an evaluation of the courses being offered, administrators require that coordinators, counselors and teachers follow-up with graduates to determine their employment status. ROC/P reports that between 80 and 85 percent of their students are employed six months after completing the course and that between 40 and 45 percent of them are working in occupations that are demonstrably related to their training.

The emphasis upon employment of graduates as a measure of program effectiveness has interesting results. For example, in LACROP, courses or curricula whose placement rate falls below 50 percent for two consecutive semesters are dropped. Stressing the ROC/P goal of relevant training, one staff member said, "It's ridiculous to train persons for jobs that don't exist."

OTHER ACTIVITIES AND VENTURES

In some instances, the central ROC/P office also becomes a broker or administrator for other related programs. For example, LACROP oversees an adult-only apprenticeship program sponsored by the California Apprenticeship Council and local Joint Apprenticeship Committees. Participants must be 18 years old and have completed high school or a GED. Apprenticeship programs are offered in air conditioning and refrigeration, electrical, roofing, and sheet metal specialties. The longest program, air conditioning and refrigeration, lasts five years. The shortest, the roofing program, lasts three years. Admission requirements are stringent and poor performance leads to quick dismissal. Nevertheless, the apprenticeships are greatly sought since they promise well-paid employment upon completion.

LACROP has also worked with the Los Angeles County government to develop programs to serve individuals currently receiving government assistance. It has developed a program called Project Workability designed to place physically handicapped youth in work settings and continues to seek new ways to serve the employment needs of the county.

V. YOUTH SERVED

Regional Occupational Centers/Regional Occupational Programs serve youth throughout California. Requirements for admission to class are few. All students in California aged 16 or older are eligible, including those enrolled in parochial and private schools. Younger students may enroll if permission is granted by the school district. Students classified as dropouts in their school districts may also enroll. Occupational interest and aptitude tests are given to students before they enroll in ROC/P classes not to screen out students, but to provide a basis for advising and placing them. Students with learning disabilities or other handicaps are eligible for participation and special classes are offered to mentally handicapped youth. ROC/P classes are available to all students regardless of family income and no tuition or course fees are charged. ROC/Ps offer an extensive network of buses to transport students between high schools so that they can take courses in other school districts.

ROC/Ps served more than 300,000 students during the 1985-86 school year--less than 10 percent were adults and the remainder were primarily high school students. They represent between one-quarter and one-third of all high school students aged 16 or older in California.

The ROC/P model does not target a particular type of student. It is explicitly not a program to which nonacademic students are tracked. Rather, the ROC/P philosophy is that any student can benefit from some occupational training even if he or she plans to continue education after graduation. This nontargeted, wide-net approach removes some of the stigma that is often associated with traditional vocational programs, i.e., that vocational education is for people who can work only with their hands not their minds. Students demonstrating a range of academic achievement enroll in the same classes. Self-paced instruction allows students to proceed as quickly as they are able and competency-based assessments document each student's achievements.

Enrollment in ROP classes varies across school districts and ROC/P sites. For example, the Los Angeles County ROP reports that 40 percent of all county public school students enroll in ROP classes. However, participation varies substantially, approaching 70 percent in some school districts and below 20 percent in others. The primary determining factor appears to be the support of local school districts and principals. Some school districts continue to be suspicious of the ROC/P initiative and are less inclined to publicize the courses, give students credit for enrolling, or facilitate the delivery of ROP classes. Other districts and principals incorporate the ROP initiative into their overall educational plan and work closely with ROP administrators to coordinate courses, develop more comprehensive programs and encourage students to take ROP classes.

The level of participation in ROC/P classes does not appear to be a function of the income level of students in the district. For example, Beverly Hills High School, which boasts one of the highest levels of postgraduation enrollment in higher education in the nation, also enrolls large numbers of students in ROP courses offered through LACROP. However, levels of participation from other affluent communities are not as high. School districts that serve student populations economically at risk show similar variation in program participation.

During interviews, many students in ROC/P classes indicated their desire to learn a skill needed in the workplace. They applauded ROP instructors for training them for "real world" jobs and teaching them skills they needed to qualify for existing positions. This attitude was most apparent among students who were pursuing an extensive sequence of courses. They expected that their long-term investment would ultimately be rewarded by a well-paid position. Students who had enrolled in a single class were interested in preparing for a job but recognized that a single class would not guarantee them a position. Students planning to go to college noted that their ROC/P classes would help them find part-time and summer work.

Certain factors limit the number of students served. Among these are the reluctance of some school districts to embrace the ROC/P option within their areas and differences of approach to recruitment, course development and management. Recent state-level decisions, such as Proposition 13 and other cost-limiting measures, have put a ceiling on how fast a program may grow. Thus, even if more students wished to enroll, some ROC/Ps may not be able to accommodate them.

Traditional prejudice against vocational education among students, parents, guidance counselors and teachers may also act to reduce ROC/P enrollments. Much of the resistance found by ROP counselors and administrators centered around the issue of basic educational and academic instruction in competition with skills training.

ROC/P staff and instructors also report several unanticipated impediments to high levels of participation among youth from impoverished areas. One problem is the time lag between when training begins and when a student becomes eligible for a job. This lapse may be too great for a youth whose income contributes to total family support. Students wishing to start work immediately may opt for lower-paying positions that require no special training. ROC/P staff said they often tried to work with employers to get students additional hours of paid work, but admitted that it was difficult. A second common problem was that some youth under 16 continued to attend school only because of legal requirements. In general, ROC/P classes are limited to students 16 or older, and younger students at risk of dropping out are not served by the program unless special administrative dispensations are given.

VI. BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT

The Regional Occupation Program did not originate with business nor is it under business control, but it has been structured to give business a role in shaping development at the local level at the same time that it provides business with experienced workers trained to their specifications. There are several aspects of the ROC/P structure that ensure sensitivity to business needs:

- The legislation creating Regional Occupational Programs requires that there be business advisory councils associated with the courses offered.

- Course approval by the state education department is predicated on demonstration of labor market needs in a particular area.

- Many of the classes are taught in "community classrooms," classes held at a work site. A business's commitment of space for classes generally includes a commitment to allow students to gain work experience on site as well.

- ROC/P's teachers must have had experience in the business world, working in the subject area they are hired to teach. Many teach on a part-time basis and continue with their jobs.

The autonomy given to local ROP/Cs allows each of them to involve business in a slightly different manner. For example, in Contra Costa County, businesses in different parts of the county were drawn deeply into the operation of the local ROC/P through their own intermediary organization, known as BOOST. It was formed in 1982 by the General Manager of the Chevron Richmond Refinery as a nonprofit corporation to foster industry education partnerships for the Career Development Center (CDC) at Richmond High School, the principal site for ROP classes in West Contra Costa County.

According to the current president of the Board of Directors of BOOST, who is an employee of Chevron, the business community and the education community speak "two different vernaculars." The function served by BOOST is to bring the two sides together to foster communication. BOOST has also taken responsibility to promote the work of the ROP to local communities. BOOST is seen as the major intermediary between business and the employment and training community: when a new or existing business has particular training needs, their training requirements are communicated to CDC/ROP through BOOST. It appears to be a highly visible organization and has gained the support and participation of some of the major power brokers of the business community.

The BOOST literature proudly describes growth in the number of training programs offered by the CDC/ROP: when it began in 1974 it offered 28 training programs; during the 1985-86 school year, it offered 168. The literature also promotes the idea that graduates of these training programs have far lower attrition rates than others the company might hire. The success of BOOST in West Contra Costa led to the development of a similar effort in the eastern part of the county as well, though the model does not appear to have been adopted in conjunction with other ROPs.

Clearly, BOOST ensures business "ownership" of the program as well as visibility for the program within local communities. BOOST has benefitted from dedicated and dynamic leadership in both sectors; both business leadership and the program manager of the Contra Costa ROP move easily between the worlds of business and education.

Business involvement in other ROC/Ps is less developed. Both LACROP and SCROC draw on the local business community for access to equipment, work/study and co-op placements, and classrooms at the worksite. However, neither program enjoys the independent business support evidenced in Contra Costa County. The reasons for this variation bear some scrutiny.

In both LACROP and SCROC, the responsibility for the effectiveness and activity level of advisory committees rests with ROC/P staff and not with the business community. Since ROC/P coordinators recruit business representatives, set the agenda and convene the meetings, business advisory activity is heavily dependent on how the coordinator resolves his/her competing responsibilities and how high a priority is placed on advisory board input.

The resulting level of involvement of business representatives varies substantially across sites. While some advisory committees are quite active--meeting regularly, forming separate organizations to advance the goals of the ROC/P in their area--other advisory groups are only marginally involved. ROC/P standards require that industry advisory committees meet at least once a year. Discussions with many coordinators and staff disclosed that only this minimum requirement was normally met. At the annual meeting, the coordinator or teacher in charge generally summarized the year's activities and achievements and then asked for questions and comments. Coordinators and teaching staff readily admitted that the advisory committees were underused but offered few ideas on how their effectiveness might be increased.

The general perception was that persons who served on the advisory boards were willing to show their support by attending the annual meeting and possibly giving preference to ROC/P students for jobs, but little else. Some coordinators indicated they believed that advisory committees could not be realistically expected to do much more. Assessments of the employment market by industries are done using professional economic/employment research services; most job placements result from instructor contacts and intervention; curriculum content is reviewed by curriculum specialists and approved by various committees. Thus, beyond maintaining the appearance of a link between ROC/P and industry, some staff questioned the utility of the advisory committee requirement.

They also point out that business support of ROC/P is apparent in other ways. A 1985 survey of 46 of 68 ROC/Ps by the California Association of Regional Occupational Programs/Centers found that 35,785 students had been placed in community classroom settings, 2,506 students were engaged in cooperative education settings with business, almost 6,800 business people served on advisory committees and more than 350 classrooms were located in private business locations. Thus, it is apparent that business involvement is not insignificant. Real contributions in terms of facilities, access to equipment, on-the-job training, personal time and classroom space are being made to students through the ROC/P initiative.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

California's Regional Occupational Centers/Regional Occupational Programs are an interesting contrast to other school/business collaborations. While their objectives closely match those of many other partnerships, these programs take a distinctly different approach to achieving them. Several things distinguish the ROC/ROP model from other initiatives. Its impetus and implementation are controlled by an existing state educational system; it is administered by coalitions of school districts. Private-sector involvement in implementation--through provision of instructors, up-to-date equipment and job placements--is substantial but not dominant. Finally, the initiative is massive in comparison with other programs, affecting more than 300,000 students. An analysis of the ROC/P approach is valuable to the study because it may suggest alternative approaches that can be adapted in other states or regions.

A WIN-WIN PROGRAM

There are positive outcomes from the ROC/P approach for students, teachers and instructors, schools, school districts and employers:

- For students--access to market-relevant vocational instruction, using equipment and facilities whose quality often exceeds what is available in their school; competency-based instruction that is recognized by employers; high placement rates among students completing classes and access to positions they would not normally obtain; overall improved schools and equipment.
- For teachers and instructors--access to supplemental income for teaching ROC/P courses; access to new equipment and facilities; access to motivated, self-selected students; accommodation of scheduling needs by ROC/P.
- For schools--ability to expand and improve vocational education curricula for students without jeopardizing other programs; access to ROC/P equipment and facilities when not in use by ROC/P classes; alleviation of the pressure to offer vocational training in multiple subject areas, which had resulted in inferior efforts.
- For school districts--greater contact with the local business community; expansion of curricula throughout the school district; reduced pressure

on burdened vocational education budgets; access to high quality instructors without a related increase in cost for employee benefits; more effective, full-time use of physical plant.

- For employers--ability to shape the specific training of potential employees; effective mechanism for employee screening; certification of competencies by instructors from industry; relatively inexpensive method for directly assisting public education.

CONTINUING ISSUES

The ROC/P model offers many interesting challenges to the provision of vocational training within the context of school/business collaborations. However, any effort to replicate such a model must be conditioned by a recognition of several issues.

- **Magnitude**--The essential component of the ROC/P model is its ability to draw resources from multiple school districts without diminishing their autonomy. Only a regional or statewide initiative has the perspective, authority and resources necessary to accomplish this task. Thus, a program based on the ROC/P model would be difficult to initiate and implement solely at a local level.

- **Bureaucracy**--A separate bureaucracy was created to implement the ROC/P initiative. The ROC/P program does not have a separate state-level office with the state Department of Education in Sacramento. Program issues, including course certification and funding, are handled by a unit in the Office of Vocational Education as part of its normal activities. This unit oversees two regional offices and the 68 individual ROC/P sites with professional and support staff and associated boards. This added level of bureaucracy and responsibility necessarily increases administrative complexities and costs.

- **Costs**--California's ROC/P plan requires a substantial investment of state funds that may be inaccessible for other initiatives. The 1985 budget approached $200 million or approximately $667 per student. These funds come from state apportionment and are distributed to programs and centers based on an average daily attendance and are in addition to the regular local, state and federal contributions to vocational education. In-kind contributions by industry--facilities, equipment and supplies--also support program operations.

- **Constraints on Funding and Growth**--Like many other states, California is trying to limit its support for education and other programs. The ROC/P initiative has been affected by this. Despite increased demand, its expansion has recently been curtailed by state caps on program growth. Thus, state programs like ROC/P may encounter fiscal constraints resulting from state-level political pressures that are unrelated to program efficacy.

- **Uneven Participation**--The ROC/P model is notable for its lack of "heavy-handedness" in dealing with individual schools and districts. In fact, observations suggest a high degree of accommodation to individual school needs and schedules. However, a by-product of this nondirected, voluntary approach is an unevenness across schools and districts in the degree to which they allow ROC/P to serve students. As a result, students in some districts are not as well-served by ROC/Ps.

- **Students Served**--ROC/Ps generally serve students who are in their final years of high school. Although the initiative serves students with a broad range of academic abilities and from different family backgrounds, the age requirements of the program mean that the needs of many youth who drop out before they turn 16 are not met. Thus, the ROC/P model is not designed to serve as a dropout prevention program.

ROC/PS COMPARED WITH VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The ROC/P model offers a point of comparison with both traditional vocational education and with programs included as part of P/PV's study of school/business collaborations. As a supplement to the existing vocational education system in California, the ROC/P initiative does not diverge substantially from regular vocational education: its focus is on preparing students for specific jobs or careers. It emphasizes hands-on instruction; business community involvement consists of technical advice, cooperative education placements and some preferential hiring of program students and graduates. However, there are several elements that distinguish the ROC/P model from vocational education:

it pools the resources of several school districts; it mandates a direct and substantiated link between training and available positions; it makes wide use of part-time instructors from industry; it offers instruction outside existing school facilities and after normal school hours; it provides up-to-date equipment on which to train students; it is available and is used by students with varying academic abilities and family backgrounds; and all costs associated with the program normally paid by local school districts are borne by the state.

ROC/PS COMPARED WITH OTHER SCHOOL/BUSINESS COLLABORATIONS

The ROC/P model shares several characteristics with school/business collaborations: it emphasizes making youth ready for employment; it often has the by-product of improving the overall school environment; and it draws upon business-sector experience in the classroom by using instructors from industry and equipment that is either made available by industry or matches that used by employers.

ROC/Ps differ from other school/business collaborations along several important dimensions. First, the model was initiated and is directed by public education. The level and range of private-sector involvement is determined by the education sector. Business participation is more highly circumscribed in the areas of administration, program development and curriculum than in initiatives that are more closely linked with the private sector. The private sector is involved in advisory committees, serves as a pool of instructors, offers cooperative education placements, and makes a commitment to hire students who pass through the program.

Second, the program is noteworthy because it serves a broad range of students from the most to the least able, including significant numbers of disadvantaged youth. Unlike a number of other school/business programs, it does not neglect the least able in the belief that they are inappropriate for private-sector employment. It has developed approaches and experiences for special education and ESL students. On the other hand, it also serves college-bound youth, reasoning that all youth can benefit from vocational skills. Thus, ROC/P has avoided the stigma often associated with "special" programs.

Third, the goal of ROC/Ps is almost exclusively to make youth employable. Toward that end, courses emphasize the acquisition of skills needed in industry, all courses must be clearly linked with available jobs in the area, and only courses that have a proven record for getting students jobs are continued. ROC/Ps diverge from many other school/business collaborations by limiting their primary objective to employability and not adding dropout prevention, school improvement or improved school/business relations as competing goals.

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education
Atlanta, Georgia

by Phyllis Snyder and Sheila Rosenblum

September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. THE PARTNERSHIP OF BUSINESS AND EDUCATION, INC.: AN OVERVIEW 3

III. THE PARTNERSHIP IN ACTION 7

IV. THE ADOPT-A-STUDENT PROGRAM 17

V. CONCLUSIONS 25

I. INTRODUCTION

The Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education, a private not-for-profit corporation, is an umbrella organization that coordinates a range of activities aimed at strengthening education in Atlanta's public schools. There are over 300 business members of the partnership, and a wide range of affiliated civic, educational and religious organizations. The partnership was begun in 1981 partly in response to an appeal from Superintendent of Schools Alonzo Crim, who asked Atlanta citizens to become a "community of believers" for the schools. Partnership staff was recruited from and is paid by, the school district; its office space is donated by Georgia State University.

The partnership performs a variety of functions that assists business people and members of civic and religious organizations to contribute time, expertise, funds, and equipment to aid the Atlanta schools. The partnership operates one program, assists in fundraising for two efforts, secures resources for a fourth, and acts as an intermediary and promoter for the remaining two.

The partnership was launched after Dr. Crim had been superintendent for eight years and had already begun to initiate changes within the schools. It is hard to separate the partnership's effects on the school system from effects resulting from many other changes implemented by a strong and charismatic superintendent. Superintendent Crim has consistently set specific goals for the schools and kept the community informed about the students' and teachers' ability to achieve those goals. Yet, in calling for the community to demonstrate its support for the schools, Crim and the other Partnership founders deliberately refrained from setting goals for the partnership. Business people are viewed as volunteers who contribute whatever support and resources they wish. According to a history of the partnership contained in its annual report, the partnership has one goal: "To improve the quality of life for the people of our area by improving their educational attainment level."

Therefore, any attempt to assess the impact of the partnership--the changes that it has made in the schools and in the community's attitude toward the schools--is limited by the deliberate vagueness of its initial goals.

P/PV chose to include the Atlanta Partnership in this study because it offers one of the few examples of a school/business collaboration whose multiple components seek to involve the entire community. It provides an opportunity to examine the effect of coordinating several separate efforts under an umbrella organization and to see whether there is any indication that the combined effort increases the private sector's impact on the schools and provides greater benefits to students. The objective of this report is to describe the workings of the partnership and the ways in which it may potentially improve the school system and, in particular, assist disadvantaged youth. It is based on a review of documents and on interviews with key actors in the Atlanta School District, the partnership staff, and a sample of business, school staff and student participants in two types of programs. These interviews were conducted over a four day period in the spring of 1985 and during a two-day follow-up visit in the fall of 1986.

The report is organized as follows:

- A description of the partnership's origins, context, and support;
- An overview of the partnership's components and budget, and a discussion of both the major program that is operated out of the partnership office, the Adopt A School Program, and of other activities of the office;
- A description of the Adopt-A-Student program, which has chosen to remain outside the partnership, but which is publicized in partnership materials; and
- A discussion of the implications of the partnership for the Atlanta system.

II. THE PARTNERSHIP OF BUSINESS AND EDUCATION, INC.: AN OVERVIEW

The Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education, Inc. began in 1981 as a three-way partnership between the Atlanta Public Schools, businesses, and colleges and universities. It is made up of approximately 300 member organizations plus volunteers from community service and religious organizations. The goal of the partnership is to improve the quality of life in Atlanta through education.

ORIGINS OF THE PARTNERSHIP

The launching of the Atlanta Partnership resulted from a number of changes in the Atlanta schools and in the community's relationship to the schools. These changes occurred over a number of years; many culminated during the 1970s. When Superintendent Alonzo Crim arrived in 1973 he inherited a system that had been engaged in desegregation litigation for 25 years. The settlement that had been effected between the plaintiffs and the Board of Education included achievement of parity by race in administrative positions, and the hiring of a black superintendent. The population of the school system had changed from 60 percent white in the late 1950s to over 80 percent black by 1973; during the next few years it became over 90 percent black.

Dr. Crim found a school system not only battered by years of conflict but also verging on bankruptcy; the latter threat was great enough to have attracted the concern of the business community, particularly, the leading bankers. In order to reduce the system's debt, the bankers assisted the superintendent in reorganizing the school system's management and Dr. Crim closed over 60 schools. Although the measures were drastic, they improved the school district's operations and helped convince the business leaders that they could work with the new superintendent.

In his prior position as a school superintendent in California, Dr. Crim had developed a reputation for reaching out and involving the community. He began to use this strategy in Atlanta. During his second year there, school staff conducted town hall meetings throughout the city so that they could hear the public's view of the schools and find out what citizens thought should be done to improve them. After listening to citizens' comments at the town meetings and reviewing reports from school administrators, Dr. Crim and his staff established a set of goals for bringing the students up to and above national norms in reading and mathematics and for improving both graduation and attendance rates. He promised to keep the community informed of the system's success in meeting the goals through annual reports of the school district's progress. He requested that the community support the schools in their quest to improve, and urged Atlanta's citizens to become what he began to call a "community of believers."

The business community's attention was also directed to the schools by the Atlanta City Council President, Marvin Arrington, who organized an Economic Development Task Force in 1980. That group's final report included two major conclusions: (1) dependence on a high quality school system was most important if Atlanta was to be a center of economic growth and, (2) there was a need for close cooperation between the business community and the school system.

It was the conjunction of these events, conditions and individuals that contributed to the formation of the partnership in 1981. However, key to the development of a working relationship between the private sector and the schools was the community's perception of Dr. Crim. His willingness to improve the management and accountability of the school district and to call upon the business community for support signaled a change in school/business relations in Atlanta and helped to launch the partnership of Business and Education.

There were several other significant figures involved in beginning the partnership. These include Dr. Boyd Odom, who was management consultant to Superintendent Crim and a former area superintendent in the school district, and Thomas Hamall, the Executive Vice President of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, which had previously initiated an Adopt A School Program. Odom and the vice president of the chamber chaired a steering committee that worked with Dr. Crim to set up the partnership. Members of the steering committee included several deans from Georgia State University, an acting dean of Atlanta University and several representatives of the chamber as well. Support was pledged by the president of Georgia State.

The plan developed by the steering committee was presented at a luncheon seminar at Georgia State University in January 1981. Two hundred business representatives attended the seminar and heard speeches by the governor and the superintendent. Attendees also viewed a film about the proposed partnership entitled "Partnership of Progress." Membership applications for the partnership were circulated and 68 were completed at the seminar, effecting the beginning of the partnership. Membership committed signers to nothing more than the concept of partnership, but it signalled the willingness of the private sector and community leaders to offer support for and confidence in public education. This symbolic act reflected a new spirit in Atlanta.

Following the seminar, the steering committee became the charter board of directors of the partnership and steps were taken to charter the partnership as a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt, non-profit corporation. Tentative approval was gained and tax-exempt status was granted in March 1982.

Several of those on the initial steering committee continue to play significant roles in the development of the partnership. Dr. Odom became executive director, and several other members continue to serve on the executive committee and as advisors to Superintendent Crim.

Although university and school district people played a significant role in start-up, the partnership also included chief executive officers from the business community in its leadership from the beginning. The interim president of the partnership was L. Edmund Rast, who was president of Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company. The first elected president was James Zimmerman, president of Rich's department store. Zimmerman has played a particularly active role in assisting the schools of Atlanta.

Support of the Partnership Organization

Initial funding for the creation of the partnership came from businesses and from the Chamber of Commerce. From the outset, emphasis was placed on the fact that the school district was seeking human resources for expertise, interest and participation through membership--not necessarily financial resources. Many of the contributions by business and higher education partners have been in-kind gifts such as office space and printing and mailing. Some funding of Partnership operations has been provided through several local foundations. However, most support has been in the form of human resources, such as volunteer labor and expertise. Business people volunteer as guides, classroom presenters, mentors, advisors and tutors. At no point were businesses asked to achieve certain levels of participation or to meet fixed goals. They were asked to believe in and support what the schools did. The partnership was to serve as a means of coordinating their efforts.

III. THE PARTNERSHIP IN ACTION

The partnership, currently an organization of several hundred business members, is governed by a board of directors and staffed by three professionals who previously worked for the school district. The staff includes Dr. Boyd Odom, the executive director; Dr. Lowrie Fraser, coordinator of the Adopt A School Program; and Dr. Carole McCarson, who has primary responsibility for the technology initiatives of the partnership. Fraser and McCarson's salaries continue to be paid by the school district; Odom is retired from the school district and his salary is paid from operating funds. According to materials prepared by the executive director, the activities of the partnership focused on six areas during the 1985-86 academic year:

- The Adopt A School Program: This is the single program operated solely by the partnership. It consists of pairings of individual schools and businesses. It is coordinated by Dr. Lowrie Fraser with the assistance of a business advisory task force.

- Distinguished Scholars/Humanities Program. The partnership is the recipient of a grant made by The Rockefeller Foundation to support cooperative programs between university faculty and teachers in the school district. The local program is coordinated by the National Faculty Humanities Program. The partnership office is responsible both for raising matching funds to the Rockefeller grant and also for administering the budget, including payments to the National Faculty and to the school district.

- Institutionalization. The director is working with a business task force to raise money for an endowed chair at Georgia State University that will promote school/business partnerships. It will be shared by the Departments of Business and Education.

- Technology: Dr. Carole McCarson of the partnership office is responsible for enlisting business support for the four magnet high schools that form the Technology Quadrangle.

- Volunteers/Tutorial: The partnership staff helps link volunteer tutors from the many religious organizations that participate in the partnership with schools that seek tutors. Employees from Atlanta's businesses also participate.

- Affirmative Action/Adopt-A-Student Program: Developed and operated by the Merit Employment Association (MEA), an organization of about 40 Atlanta businesses, the program has been coordinated by Judy Beard of Southern Bell, who works with Dr. Claude George, a special consultant to the superintendent. Business volunteers work individually with junior and senior high school students who are at risk of not graduating from high school. The program has come to be referred to as the Adopt-A-Student Program.

Budget

The nature of the coordination performed by the partnership office is reflected in its annual financial report. The report issued by the partnership office for the FY 1986, which began July 1, 1985, lists funds received from 25 sources, including local and national foundations, local businesses and the Atlanta Public Schools. The partnership's financial report goes beyond reporting its own expenses to include the grants that it administers for others.

The partnership began the 1986 fiscal year with a balance of $46,482.66. Total receipts for the year were $298,432.00, and disbursements were $302,002.90, leaving a closing balance of $42,911.76.

However, little of the reported funds were used to support activities that are operated directly by the partnership office. Of $298,432 in total receipts, only 29 percent, or $87,886, was earmarked for staffing the office and operating the Adopt A School Program. Almost all the remaining funds were for operating the Distinguished Scholars/Humanities Program. The financial report does not list the considerable in-kind support from which the partnership office and the individual programs benefit. Included among the in-kind contributions are the office space donated by Georgia State University, printing of material by both the University and participating businesses, and sponsorship of Partnership dinners by member organizations.

PROGRAMS

The section below describes five of the partnership initiatives, including the Adopt A School program, the only program operated exclusively from the partnership office. Since the MEA Adopt-A-Student program operates outside of the partnership office and considers the partnership to be a supporting rather than a sponsoring organization, it will be discussed separately in a later section.

THE ADOPT A SCHOOL PROGRAM

The Adopt A School Program is the best-known activity operated by the Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education and has contributed greatly to the community's pride in the schools. Begun by the Chamber of Commerce during 1980, the year prior to the partnership's start-up, the program is run by Dr. Fraser, who assumed responsibility for development of Adopt A School during the 1981-82 school year while serving as the coordinator of magnet schools for the Atlanta Public Schools. In 1983, coordination of Adopt A School became her full-time job, and her salary continues to be paid by the school district. Dr. Fraser works closely with a business advisory task force, made up of representatives of partnership firms. Its first chair was Paul Ferm of C & S Bank, and he played an important role in the earlier financial reorganization of the schools. The current chair is Dennis Betz of Southern Bell. The membership of the entire Partnership is available to Dr. Fraser as a source of business adoptions; during 1984-85, 103 schools and programs had been adopted. Most adoptions result from the efforts that Fraser or task force members make to recruit individual businesses. Oglivy and Mather, an advertising agency whose vice-president recently joined the task force, is working on a marketing plan to recruit more adopters. Twenty-eight schools in the district currently remain unadopted and seek to be matched with adopters.

The Atlanta Adopt A School Program is typical of the most widespread model of school/business collaboration throughout the country: a pairing of an individual business and a school. Adoptions can encompass a wide range of activities. Such programs permit businesses to contribute the type and level of resources comfortable for the firm. However, unlike the adoption programs in many cities, Atlanta's is under the umbrella of the Partnership of Business and Education; the pairings of schools and businesses can gain visibility from partnership publicity and the membership provides a source of businesses to recruit.

One of the superintendent's goals has been to convince students that people who are important believe in them and their commitment to learning. To change students' attitudes about what they can accomplish, Crim encourages educators at every level, business people, clergy, parents and citizens to see the students as "winners rather than losers." The Adopt A School program is among the most visible manifestations of this community support since it provides a structured way for the business community to play a role in supporting the education of the children of Atlanta.

Goals of the Program

A handbook produced by the Atlanta Adopt A School program defines a school/business adoption as "a voluntary relationship between one or more businesses/organizations and a school for the support and enrichment of the educational process." The adoptions are intended to inform the community about the schools and to enlist them in the educational growth of the students. Despite the superintendent's emphasis on gaining support from people to encourage youth, many of the adoptions have emphasized material resources.

Although the institutional match is usually made by the Coordinator, the content of each adoption is determined jointly by representatives of the business and the school. Projects almost always serve the entire school population and do not focus on youth who may be most in need of extra support. Specific goals for each adoption vary according to the needs of the school and the nature and extent of interest of the particular business. Typically, they include such activities as exposing students to career possibilities, providing educational enrichment and sponsoring out-of-school trips.

In addition to aiding students, participation in the program is designed to assist teachers in planning for and gaining access to expertise and technical assistance from the adopting company. A teacher's ability to plan and develop with business representatives activities that incorporate business resources into the classroom may determine the extent to which an adoption can achieve its goals.

Although the Adopt A School Handbook refers to meeting the needs and using the resources of both school and business to their mutual benefit, the business goals and benefits are far less explicit. In becoming involved in the Adopt A School program, businesses generally pursue a mixture of self-interest and altruism. The superintendent has effectively communicated to businesses the importance of their involvement in the education of students in Atlanta, and many are willing to demonstrate this support through an adoption. By improving the quality of education, the partnership hopes both to improve the quality of Atlanta's graduates, who will be their future labor force, and also to promote the reputation of the city's schools, making it easier to recruit employees from other areas. For some firms, a more immediate goal may be to provide information about jobs within their industry and to encourage students to think about career possibilities in that area. Most of all, adoption of a school is seen as a public service.

Since the level of commitment of a business to its adopted school is negotiable within each pairing, individual coordinators from schools and business together develop a program that addresses the school's needs and the business's willingness to become involved. Contracts between business and school are renewed on an annual basis and, therefore, the commitment can be reexamined at the end of that time. Many of the adoptions involve programs that are short-term and sporadic, though a few do continue for a longer period. There are many cases where a business has increased its level of commitment and activity.

Recruitment

The recruitment of both schools and businesses and the subsequent pairing is done by the staff of the Adopt A School Program, through a variety of techniques. Of the initial group of 68 companies that enrolled in the partnership at the founding meeting, many, though not all, entered into adoptions. Further recruitment is done by publicizing existing programs, through individual solicitation by participating business people, and by cold calls made by Lowrie Fraser. As the benefits of the program have become better known, employees of business organizations have begun to seek adoptions for their own children's schools. Initial solicitation is frequently at the level of senior management, though subsequent participation is at a less senior level. In the case of the magnet schools, one firm within the magnet's area of specialization often assumes responsibility for taking the lead and for recruiting other firms from the industry to assist the magnet.

School recruitment is somewhat simpler. Principals are invited to apply, or initiate a request for an adoption. Forms are made available for principals to list their school's needs and expectations for volunteers; the forms are used by the partnership as data for matching the school with a firm whose desired contribution matches the school's needs. A school may be paired with more than one company, but most companies are paired with only one school.

Program Development

Once a business and school have been paired, guidelines for the development of a program or specific activity are available in the Adopt A School Handbook. The handbook outlines goals and expectations for adoptions and provides sample contracts and program ideas for firms and schools. However, there is no formal training program or guidance for individual company employees who desire to participate, but who may not have the background to enter and work comfortably in a school. Training or orientation must occur on an individual basis through meetings with Lowrie Fraser or by reading the handbook.

Although the Adopt A School literature emphasizes human resources commitment, the extent of that commitment varies greatly from company to company. Developing plans for involving business people in the educational process requires a commitment of time and creativity by both teachers and business. In many individual adoptions, contributions have consisted of money or materials that may be more easily secured by the business. For example, a company's contribution may take the form of awards for students who have been successful in a particular area, or funds for special programs the school could not afford. However, there are examples of a more personal commitment by individuals within a company. Employees may visit the school to describe the nature of their work, helping the students to make the connection between the world of work and what they are learning in school.

Certain adoption activities fall into typical categories:

- Employers visit the school and make presentations. For example, the hospital staff from Piedmont Hospital delivered a series of talks about the heart for students and staff at E. Rivers Elementary School.

- The company sponsors field trips or provides prize money for students with outstanding academic or attendance records. The Kroger Company funded a field trip to a performance of "Cinderella" and sponsored 40 students at a summer day camp.

- The company donates equipment or funds to purchase items the school could not afford on its own. C.W. Trucking Company contributed $2,500 to furnish a new science laboratory at E. R. Carter Elementary School.

Some companies have worked with teachers to integrate business experience into the curriculum. One example is the adoption of the Jackson Elementary School by the Peasant Restaurant chain. A vice-president of the chain coordinated a series of sessions in which people from her organization explained to the school's fifth-graders the planning and decisions required to operate restaurants. The individual sessions required the class to use math and English skills. The students were then able to apply their learning to the operation of a cookie concession at the school fair, where the students planned, baked and sold the cookies. The restaurant's representative questioned the youth thoroughly at the end of the experience to see what aspects of the business they liked and didn't like. Both the fifth-graders and the management of the restaurant chain expressed enormous satisfaction with the experience.

In this case, the restaurant chain decided to become involved because its management felt that most children did not consider future careers in restaurants and food management. In addition, management wanted to do something to support the community that provided the clientele for their restaurants. According to the principal of Jackson, the business person who led the classes was a natural teacher and contributed greatly to the program's success.

Magnet Schools

Some of the adoptions with the most intense level of involvement occur at magnet schools, which are structured to incorporate business assistance. Generally a consortium of business people working in the magnet's area of concentration advises the school on its curriculum, contributes equipment and, in some cases, jobs. The fact that many of the magnet schools' graduates hope to enter professions needed by their partner firms helps to structure a mutual set of goals. The Grady Magnet School of Communications has benefited from resources provided by television stations and newspapers in the Atlanta area. At Harper High School, which houses the banking magnet, an advisory board composed of representatives of eight Atlanta banks assists with curriculum development, helps secure work experience positions during the school year and the summer, and aids in publicizing the program. Adopting magnet schools appeals to business mainly for two reasons: they are a source of future employees, and they serve to enhance and promote the school system as a means to keep and attract middle-class families.

Business Involvement in Program Operation

The Adopt A School program is entirely a volunteer effort and, once a company accepts an adoption, individual employees of that company participate or not as they wish. Promotion and support of adoption activities varies from firm to firm. In many cases, participation is highlighted in internal publications of large businesses and participants gain some status or, at least, attention from their activities. Although most employees who volunteer at the schools are likely to be middle-level managers, CEO involvement is required to make the initial commitment of a company's time and resources. Further, in cases where the CEO is involved in activities of the partnership, he or she may place particular importance on the sustained involvement of company employees. However, the most necessary support comes from an individual's direct supervisor; since activities occur during the work day, a supervisor's approval is essential. General company support does not suffice.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The Adopt A School Handbook states that the program developed by each adoption should be goal-oriented and have a built-in evaluation process based on clearly stated objectives. However, the nature of many programs, which are episodic or diffuse, does not lend itself to this type of scrutiny or measurement, nor is anyone generally assigned to take responsibility for evaluation. The activities at individual schools are generally monitored by principals within the school, by Lowrie Fraser or, as described in the Peasant Restaurant adoption, by the company.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Adopt A School

A major strength of the Adopt A School program has been its ability to increase the business community's interest in and exposure to the schools. Promotion of the program within the community is a prime aim of those running the program and, in fact, visibility of individual adoptions helps to attract other businesses and indicates the breadth of business involvement in the schools. The public relations effort is substantial; it includes a quarterly newsletter, prepared by the coordinator, that shares information about activities of individual partnerships. Businesses have also publicized their efforts through in-house publications. The Atlanta newspapers, which have been supportive of the entire Partnership effort, have featured Adopt A School programs. Local television stations have produced specials featuring events related to adoptions. There is no question that the awareness and interest of the business community has been heightened by the visibility of Adopt A School efforts.

A weakness of the program, however, is that many of the adoptions are more ceremonial than substantive. The program's decentralized nature, which allows the school and business to negotiate the level and content of the commitment, means that some collaborations offer very little. It also produces an uneven distribution of benefits to youth within a school. The potential for producing measurable effects in academic achievement or future employability is limited. Even in adoptions where a positive and sustained relationship has developed between school and business, the philosophy of the program has been to leave the decision to increase or deepen the commitment up to the participants.

The coordinator has worked hard to launch, develop and promote the program. She has effectively involved many of her business task force members in its operation. However, she has been limited in her ability to assess and strengthen individual adoptions by the lack of additional staff.

OTHER PARTNERSHIP ACTIVITIES

The four other initiatives that operate under the partnership umbrella are the responsibility of Boyd Odom and Carole McCarson. In each of these initiatives, the role that the partnership office plays is primarily an administrative one, serving as a liaison between a business, foundation or university and the Atlanta Public Schools. One of these efforts, referred to as Institutionalization, also requires planning and development by the staff of the partnership office, who work with a business advisory committee. In the Distinguished Scholars/Humanities Program and the Institutionalization effort, the partnership office has fundraising as well as management responsibility. The Atlanta Partnership is one of several similar programs that received a Rockefeller Foundation grant to conduct a Distinguished Scholars/Humanities Program. The design and implementation of individual efforts under this grant rests with the National Faculty Humanities Program, local universities and the school district, and has included a number of efforts directed at teachers, such as in-service programs and summer workshops. The partnership has assisted in raising the necessary matching funds and administering the budget.

The Institutionalization initiative is a fundraising campaign to endow a chair at Georgia State University. The staff of the partnership works with a business advisory committee to raise funding for a chair to be shared by the Departments of Business and Education. Odom regards this effort as a means of promoting Atlanta and ensuring a continuing focus on school/business collaborations at the university level.

The technology initiative is an effort to increase contributions of human and material resources by high technology businesses to the four technology magnet schools. Carol McCarson of the partnership staff coordinates this effort and has succeeded in obtaining the services of several loaned executives to work in the schools and much donated equipment. However, real responsibility for the technology magnets, like the other magnets in Atlanta's high schools, rests with the school district.

The partnership Office links the volunteer tutoring efforts operated by Atlanta's religious and civic organizations with schools that seek tutors. Recruitment, training and assignment of volunteers is overseen by the individual organizations. Part of the tutoring effort has targeted such out-of-school groups as illiterate adults, and its efforts have led to the development of an Adult Literacy Center.

The plan prepared by Odom for the 1986-87 school year, listing objectives in each of the four areas, gives a clearer indication of the extent of the partnership's role and responsibilities in these efforts. The role he describes is primarily one of maintenance and support; listed below are the goals for two of the efforts.

"Institutionalization

1. Continue and expand activities with the Georgia Education Leadership Academy and the Georgia Department of Education related to statewide business and education collaboration.

2. Develop nd implement an operational plan leading to an er owed chair at GSU involving the Colleges of Busir ss and Education with the major purpose being widespr d community support for education.

3. Facilit a with Georgia State University the W. T. G nt research project on the effectiveness of the opt-A-Student Program.

4. Continu collaboration with Georgia State Univers y and the Institute for Educational Leaders p relative to Project Metro-Link.

5. Continu to seek foundation funding.

6. Continu to facilitate bilateral management trainin programs co-sponsored by Georgia State Univers y Bureau of Research and Services and Metro At anta businesses.

Volunteer/ torial

1. Continu to maintain and expand networks from the religio community and to provide information on the same to APS.

2. Continu promotion of the PTA throughout our activit .

3. Expand national network for advocacy of volunte utilization in schools."

It is instructi to note the general nature of these goals, which are consis nt with a point made earlier. The partnership is regarded as effort to enlist the business community's presence and ge al support for the Atlanta Public Schools, and not as a means specify precise levels of support by business for the schools. The superintendent's position, which is reflected in the artnership's operation, is that once business volunteers come know individual students, their involvement in the schools wil ncrease over time.

IV. THE ADOPT-A-STUDENT PROGRAM

In addition to operating Adopt A School, the partnership actively supports another collaborative effort that provides business assistance directly to students, the Adopt-A-Student Program. The Adopt-A-Student Program is jointly sponsored by the Merit Employment Association (MEA), an organization of about 40 businesses, and the Atlanta Public Schools. Although the partnership lists the program as one of its initiatives, the program directors operate separately from the partnership and regard the partnership more as its supporter. Adopt-A-Student benefits from the contacts and publicity generated by the partnership but chooses to keep its operations outside the partnership. The core of this program is an individual relationship between a volunteer from the business community, called a consultant, and a junior or senior high school student who is in the lowest quartile of the class and in need of assistance in making the transition from school to work. The personal relationship between the adult and student is supplemented with a series of eight job-readiness workshops offered for both consultants and students.

ORIGINS OF THE PROGRAM

The Adopt-A-Student Program was started as a project of the MEA in the 1982-83 school year at the request of the superintendent. Dr. Crim was particularly concerned about the high youth unemployment rate in Atlanta and the number of students leaving the schools--even as graduates--without motivation or resources to find employment. He targeted the 1,000 students who comprise the lowest quartile of the senior class for the Adopt-A-Student program since they were found to be most at risk of unemployment once they left school.

At that time, many of the efforts devoted to job readiness within Atlanta's high schools involved only students enrolled in the selective magnet programs. Dr. Crim asked the MEA, which had demonstrated its interest in helping schools operate an annual career day, for private-sector volunteers who would motivate and guide young people and help them find jobs. The MEA agreed to sponsor the program; Adopt-A-Student started in 1982 with eight consultants and 24 seniors from two high schools.

Judy Beard, operations manager at Southern Bell and an active participant in the MEA, undertook coordination of the program during 1983-84. By the start of the 1984-85 school year, the program had been implemented in 10 schools, and included 157 consultant/student partners, and eight coordinators responsible for monitoring individual consultants and running job readiness workshops. The consultants and coordinators came from 19 companies, with Southern Bell providing the largest number. During the 1985-86 school year, MEA implemented the program in all Atlanta public high schools, began including 11th-graders as well as seniors in some schools, and set a target goal of serving 25 percent of the students in the lowest quartile.

At the conclusion of the 1984-85 school year, the W. T. Grant Foundation awarded funds to the partnership to finance an evaluation of the program. The evaluation is being conducted by a research group at Georgia State University. Based on their preliminary findings from the first year's research and their observations of the program's operations, the researchers worked with Adopt-A-Student staff to strengthen the program.

P/PV interviewed participants and observed the Adopt-A-Student program during the spring of 1985, so most of this description reflects the 1984-85 program year. However, during a return visit in the fall of 1986, P/PV learned of changes made during 1985-86, and of early findings and observations of the Georgia State evaluation team. Some of this later information is included.

Goals

The goal of the Adopt-A-Student Program is to encourage young people to graduate and find a job or to continue their education. Mentoring, developing a relationship between an adult and a youth to provide guidance to the youth, is the centerpiece of the effort. To supplement this attention, workshops are provided to help students identify possible career paths and to seek and acquire job-search and work-place skills.

During its first few years of operation, groups involved in the program differed on the priority of the goals. For the MEA, the program served as an opportunity to provide attention and information to a population that seems ill-served by the high schools. For the superintendent and the director of the partnership, the program's function centered on job readiness and placement; the superintendent intended eventually to reach most, if not all, of the 1,000 students in the bottom quartile. For the school guidance counselors responsible for recruiting the students, Adopt-A-Student met a range of objectives: some saw it as a program for students who were motivated to look for a job and who would benefit most from the assistance; others viewed it as a program for students who needed personal attention. During the 1985-86 program year, the program's management team was expanded to include school as well as business representatives, and the team held discussions with evaluators. These efforts have helped to resolve differences and unify goals. The program continues to focus on youth in the lowest quartile and to assist them in finding jobs or continuing with schooling after graduation.

THE PROGRAM IN ACTION

Organization and Management

Judy Beard of Southern Bell continues as coordinator of the program for the MEA. MEA members can participate in two ways--as coordinators or as consultants. Coordinators act as primary liaisons to the school, recruit volunteer consultants from the private sector, match them with students, and generally act as their supervisors. Coordinators also plan and implement the Job Readiness Workshops that take place on eight Saturdays during the year. In the 1984-85 school year, eight volunteers, most of whom had been consultants in prior years, were chosen by Judy Beard to serve as coordinators. Of these, three were employees of Southern Bell, three worked for AT&T and two came from other MEA companies.

The greatest number of business volunteers are the consultants. They meet with and assist students individually and participate with them in the workshops. Consultants implement their roles differently; they can be guides, mentors, or job counselors. Judy Beard's counterpart from the Atlanta school system is Claude George, a special consultant to the superintendent who coordinates participation by the schools. In each high school, guidance counselors, in addition to their regular work, identify, recruit and screen eligible students for the Adopt-A-Student Program. During the first few years, counselors did not attend an orientation and frequently had a vague understanding of the program's purpose.

Recruitment of Consultants

Consultants are recruited through both formal and informal mechanisms. For example, at Southern Bell, a formal strategy was to circulate a flyer requesting volunteers to adopt a student in a job-finding program. More than 100 employees volunteered. The second largest number came from AT&T, followed by the Federal Reserve Bank; the remaining consultants came from 16 additional companies. The latter group included consultants recruited from the three major businesses, but for the most part all had been recruited more informally by friends already participating in the program. Larger companies are generally better able to accommodate and support participation of employees in community service projects.

Participation takes place during the employee's own time, except for some necessary phone calls during the day. Although participation is not a requirement of their jobs or necessary for job advancement, employees are often recognized for their service in company newsletters. Individuals who volunteered to adopt a student cited personal, rather than organizational reasons for their involvement: "I wanted to help someone ... I wanted to do something to help a kid stay in school ... I felt I had insight that would be helpful ... I like young people, am familiar with their problems and young people could use other influences besides their family." Most of the volunteer consultants are black (as are the students), and many volunteers feel a strong identification with and concern for the youth and their problems. Most of the volunteers were from middle management--professional, technical and senior support staff.

Training of Consultants

A training and orientation session is held for the consultants at the beginning of the school year. They are addressed by Dr. Crim, Dr. George and Judy Beard. Techniques and suggestions for interacting with the students are described; these include beginning the relationship with some social activity and offering transportation to the workshops. When coordinators assign a consultant to a student, consultants are requested to contact a parent first, to make sure that parents are aware of the program and are willing to have their son or daughter meet individually with the adult consultant.

The Recruitment of Students

With Dr. George as the initial liaison, coordinators work with guidance counselors in the high schools to recruit students to the program. For the 1984-85 school year, 10 schools were asked to provide up to 20 students each. Since the program is decentralized and has few written guidelines, each guidance counselor recruited students in his/her own way. In one school, the guidance counselor selected and assigned to the program seniors from among the lowest quartile whom she felt were most in need of assistance. In another school, an announcement asking for volunteers was made to a large group of eligible students; in a third school, students were picked by the counselor, but were given the choice of whether or not to participate. As a result, experience, motivation and interest among the students varied widely.

Consultant/Student Relationships

During the first few years, once a student was matched with a consultant, the nature and extent of individual interaction was left to the pair. The only requirement was that both attend the eight regularly scheduled Saturday sessions on job readiness. Some of the adults and youth became friendly and had regular conversations, outings and meetings. School guidance counselors reported receiving phone calls from consultants about "their" student's academic progress. However, in up to half of the matches, the pairing never developed into a comfortable relationship. Frequently, consultants who were questioned about the reasons for this described a gap in understanding and expectations that they had been unable to bridge. Youth said they lost interest because the relationship did not seem to help solve specific problems; adults lost interest when they saw a lack of response to their suggestions and invitations.

Changes have been made, some at the suggestion of those involved in the program and some at the suggestion of the Georgia State researchers. The changes include better preparation of consultants for the type of youth with whom they will be working, and training coordinators to support and monitor the relationships. Consultants and students are now matched by the spring of a youth's junior year, so the pair can concentrate on developing a relationship before attending the workshops and planning for post-high school activities. A decision was made to limit the number of youth to between 125 and 150 per year in order to concentrate on strengthening the quality of each set of partners.

The counselors' support for the program has grown because participation has proven beneficial to youth. According to the program's records, which neither P/PV nor the Georgia State researchers have verified, between 70 and 80 percent of youth who remain in Adopt-A-Student until the end of the year obtain jobs or go on to post-secondary education. About two-thirds of the beginning 200 youth stay in the program. The frequency of contact between Claude George's office at the school district and individual guidance counselors has also been increased to help ensure that recruitment criteria are the same at all schools, and that students from the lowest quartile are served.

The coordinators' role has been strengthened and their accountability increased. Consultants are required to file monthly reports with coordinators; consultants can be dropped from the program if it appears that they are not performing acceptably. All consultants and the coordinator responsible for a particular school come from the same company to encourage developing a team structure. Also, a handbook was developed for consultants to use during the year.

The Job Readiness Workshops

The workshops are conducted on Saturday mornings and generally take half a day. Once the formal presentation is over, there is time for each student and consultant to discuss the topics in greater detail. Topics include career exploration, decision-making, non-verbal communication, building interview skills, building self-image and developing positive work behavior. Despite the high quality of the presentations, which are run by employees of the participating companies, student attendance had been very low. Many consultants rated the workshops highly and attended without students. During 1984-85, the format was changed to include student participation in the delivery of the program to increase their interest. Rules have been tightened so that students who fail to attend with their consultants can also be dropped from the program.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Adopt-A-Student

One of the problems that Adopt-A-Student faced during its first few years of operation was a lack of information about the content and frequency of meetings between consultants and youth. The MEA and its members were excited about undertaking such a program and were convinced that it had enormous potential. However, the voluntary, decentralized and unstructured nature of the program did not provide for the systematic collection of information on how it was working and how it might be improved. The evaluation undertaken in the fall of 1985, in combination with changes in responsibility, has tightened program supervision.

Among the strengths of the Adopt-A-Student program are the following:

- It is the only school/business program in Atlanta both developed by a group of businesses and operated primarily by business volunteers.
- It benefits youth directly, and targets a group of students who often receive the fewest benefits from innovations introduced into the schools.
- It complements the work of the schools by adding an element of personal attention and interest that teachers are frequently unable to provide.
- It helps youth to feel special because they have been chosen for the program and to gain self-confidence through the support provided by their consultant.

Despite its promise and accomplishments in helping youth in the lowest quartile, the program exhibits certain weaknesses. Several that were apparent in earlier visits are now being addressed:

- Program goals have been ambiguous and guidance for the consultants has been erratic and vague. Recent reorganization and the ongoing evaluation may help to correct these weaknesses.
- Although the program was started at the suggestion of the superintendent and continues to have his strong endorsement, the school district did not initially consider it a school program and

some counselors cooperated reluctantly. However, the program's efforts to help participants find jobs or continue their education after graduation have convinced counselors of its value.

- Primary responsibility for program operation rested with a business executive who was authorized by her company to spend up to 50 percent of her time managing the program; however, she was still expected to continue fulfilling all the responsibilities of her full-time job. Management of Adopt-A-Student has been reorganized so that she now spends only 10 percent of her time on supervision of the business coordinators and consultants. Dr. George's office supervises the in-school portion of the program. A recently established 12-member steering committee should also help strengthen program operation.

A major question concerning the program relates to the timing of this intervention for at-risk youth. As indicated, the program's focus is on youth who are at the end of their high school career. Many youth who might have benefited most from such attention have already dropped out of school; many are facing years of chronic unemployment. And, for those in the lowest quartile who remain, it may be unrealistic to try and accomplish Adopt-A-Student's goals in the final year of high school. Although the program's figures indicate success in assisting those who remain, a third of those who begin drop out of the program. The MEA might do well to consider intervening sooner.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education developed in response to a call from Superintendent of Schools Alonzo Crim for the formation of a "community of believers" in support of school improvement efforts. The partnership has had both symbolic and practical importance for Atlanta schools. It has enlisted broad support from many sectors of the city--including the universities, religious and community organizations, and more than 300 area businesses. This support has taken a variety of forms, including the commitment of human resources and the donation of materials and funds. In a city where confidence in the schools had diminished as a result of 25 years of desegregation litigation, these efforts have greatly enhanced the vitality and stature of the schools.

The partnership has provided a mechanism to channel the business community's growing interest in public education. Partnership programs have supported the superintendent's efforts to improve the schools. They have also been responsible for receiving and disbursing funds from local and national sources for programs that link business and other community sectors with the schools.

From its inception, the framers of the partnership have purposefully set broad objectives that do not readily lend themselves to specific assessment. The major goal has been to gain support for the schools at whatever level and in whatever form the community chooses to offer it.

At a time when the quality of public education has become a focus of attention, there is widespread interest in determining the extent to which recent collaborative efforts by the business community can aid improvement of schools. Atlanta's collaborative effort, in particular, has raised expectations because it is one of the few efforts to provide a single locus for coordinating community-wide collaboration. Atlanta's partnership has led many observers to ask whether coordination has increased the impact of several individual collaborative programs and resulted in stronger school support and improvement in educational quality.

While assessing Partnership accomplishments is on the agenda of outside observers who seek to compare the Atlanta effort with collaborations elsewhere, many of the founders and operators of the partnership are more interested in encouraging rather than measuring business contributions to the schools. Yet, some local observers have begun to seek more specific measures, to ask if a lack of accountability has been beneficial to the partnership. A recent editorial in The Atlanta Journal questioned why, in the midst of a strong and growing economy, Atlanta's business community had not undertaken a systematic program to provide jobs, or financial aid for college to youth graduating from the city's high schools. John Clendenin, chairman of the board of the National Alliance of Business and CEO of BellSouth Corporation in Atlanta, also wonders whether business has done enough, and has begun to question both educators and business leaders in the Southeast about the content of business support for schools.

Whether efforts like the partnership--which seeks to make business a constituency for the schools and to increase educational resources through business intervention--affect the quality of education in the schools is not easily answered by observation of the Atlanta model. Although the concern and interest of the business community matter to him and, in his view, to the students, Superintendent Crim maintains that it is ultimately the responsibility of the schools to improve the quality of education and that active business community support is only an incentive. In fact, the momentum generated by the partnership has not facilitated a sense of ownership of and responsibility for education by the business community. Rather, the increased visibility resulting from a community-wide effort has strengthened individual collaborative programs already in existence.

Two programs have most effectively brought business support directly into schools. The first, Adopt A School, established by the Chamber of Commerce, operates under the umbrella of the partnership and serves to improve the educational climate for many of Atlanta's schools.

- Eighty-nine of the 117 schools in the district have benefitted from their adoption by business and civic organizations. Schools have gained access to human and material resources, and business people have learned about the workings of the schools.

- Many of the adoptions have permitted schools and businesses to cross boundaries, and to communicate and work together more effectively as a result.

Despite its effectiveness in enlisting business support for the schools, the partnership has not pushed for pairings that are more than ceremonial. Although there are numerous examples of collaborations that directly assist education in the school, there are others where neither partner has been willing to strive for more educationally related activities.

The second of the specific initiatives is Adopt-A-Student, a program that benefits from the public information and dissemination efforts of the partnership, but has chosen to operate outside it. The Adopt-A-Student program was initiated by a local business organization and continues to rely on the voluntary efforts of its members to manage and implement the program. Among its strengths are the following:

- It has targeted youth in the lowest quartile of their classes, a population frequently neglected in collaborations between schools and business. Youth are paired with adult volunteers who can provide regular support and guidance that may not be available in school.

- It has provided classes and information to participants about jobs and postsecondary education. Statistics collected by the program show that 70-80 percent of the youth who remain in the program for the entire year obtain a job or continue their education.

Observation of the Adopt-A-Student Program indicated several weaknesses in the program that might hamper its growth. However, the same weaknesses were recognized by both volunteer staff and evaluators from Georgia State University, and changes have already been made in linking the program and the high schools, and in coordinating and training the business volunteers. P/PV continues to question the timing of the intervention and the focus on students who are at the end of their high school career, since many of those who are most at risk of unemployment have already dropped out of school. The attention and guidance furnished by the Adopt-A-Student program might help to reduce the dropout rate among younger students beginning high school; the MEA might consider intervening sooner.

Atlanta's citywide partnership has helped to make schools a concern of the entire community. Its success in doing so has rested on its willingness to accept what business has offered rather than encouraging the private sector to take a more active role in improving education and access to employment. When the partnership began five years ago, the support it provided to the superintendent contributed to the accomplishment of improvements in the schools. Now that the relationship has been established, it is time to re-examine the nature of the support and to see if it has realized its potential.

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Allies in Education

A Profile of:

The Boston Compact
Boston, Massachusetts

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September 1987

CONTENTS

Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. CONTEXT OF THE COMPACT'S DEVELOPMENT 7

III. SCHOOL PARTICIPATION IN THE COMPACT 13

IV. THE BOSTON PRIVATE INDUSTRY COUNCIL 35

V. BUSINESS PARTICIPATION IN THE COMPACT 39

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS 51

TABLES

III.1 Boston Public Schools Metropolitan Achievement Tests Results: 1982-83 to 1984-85 (Median Percentiles) 23

III.2 Percentage of 12th-Graders Falling Below Promotional Standard on Degrees of Reading Power (DRP) Test (Promotional Standard=64) 27

III.3 Average Daily Attendance by School 1981-82 to 1984-85. 29

III.4 Changes in Dropout Rates Among Boston Public High School Students 30

V.1 Summer and Permanent Job Placements Among Boston Employers Through the Boston Compact 44

V.2 Status of the Class of 1985 Six Months After Graduation 45

I. INTRODUCTION

The Boston Compact is an initiative designed to encourage school improvement in Boston by setting objective performance goals for public schools, employment goals for business and organized labor, and admission goals for postsecondary institutions. The schools pledged to improve average daily attendance, standardized test scores and graduation rates. Boston corporations, unions, colleges and universities pledged to help the school district achieve these goals by providing technical assistance, offering political support and increasing employment and educational opportunities for Boston public school students and graduates.

Participants in the Compact describe it as a bargain between the schools, universities and businesses. Each agreed to work in coordination with the school district according to a common plan to produce school improvement. Each also committed itself to a set of goals against which the Compact's achievements could be assessed. The superintendent of schools, in his 1985 annual report, summarized the key points of the Compact (1986:161-162). Within schools, success of the Compact bargains would be measured against the following:

- A 5 percent increase per year in the number of students who graduate, using as a base the number who enter 9th grade;
- By 1986, demonstration by all graduates of the reading and math skills necessary for employment, through the achievement of minimum competency standards established by the School Committee;
- A 5 percent increase per year in average daily student attendance in the high schools; and,
- A 5 percent increase per year in the number of students placed in jobs or in further education.

Business, for its part, agreed to develop a priority hiring system for graduates of the Boston Public Schools. The specific goals for businesses were to:

- Sign up 200 companies to participate in the priority hiring effort in 1983, adding 100 more in 1984;
- Expand the Jobs Collaborative, the Private Industry Council's school-based career education and job placement program, from three to six schools in 1983, and to 12 schools by 1984;

- Place 400 qualified graduates in jobs by October 1983 and place 600 by October 1984; and
- Provide jobs for 1,000 students during the summer of 1983 and 1,500 during the summer of 1984.

Colleges and universities committed themselves to enrolling 25 percent more Boston public school graduates in higher education between 1983 and 1988. Colleges and universities also agreed to:

- Provide expanded information and awareness programs to high school students;
- Assist the Boston Public Schools in improving college preparatory curricula and instructional strategies;
- Expand the base of financial aid available to qualified Boston public school graduates; and
- Improve their own retention efforts and special programs, particularly as they relate to Boston public school graduates.

William S. Edgerly, chairman of the State Street Bank and Trust Company and a key actor in launching the Boston Compact in 1982, described the Compact as "an effort to assure young people and their teachers that hard work in the Boston Public Schools would pay off in jobs and in opportunities for further education." The Compact's goals, he said, are "to increase attendance, to reduce the number of dropouts, to improve student academic performance so that all who graduate are competent in basic skills, and to increase access to jobs and further education . . ."

Under the Compact umbrella, existing adopt-a-school programs involving high schools (Tri-Lateral Council for Quality Education), youth employment activities (Jobs Collaborative) and school management improvement programs (School-Based Management Project, School Improvement Program) were refocused toward the Compact's goals. New initiatives were also begun. Each initiative or program was directed at improving the quality of education through increased school-based planning, teacher training, the introduction of new personnel to assist both schools and students, and clear links between achievement in school and employment and education opportunities.

The Compact was designed to foster school improvement in all public schools--elementary, middle and secondary. The initiative was directed principally at high schools, though school adoptions with elementary and middle schools also increased or were revitalized. In addition to the business community and the universities, trade unions also joined the Compact. A number of labor unions agreed to increase openings in their apprenticeship programs to Boston public high school graduates under the Boston Trade Union Compact.

The Compact has also spawned additional programs and initiatives by participating businesses that go beyond the initial parameters of the agreement but are extensions of its intent. The Boston Plan for Excellence was started in 1983 with several endowments in excess of $1 million. The Plan comprises four initiatives:

- The School Initiatives Grant Program, established with a $1.5 million endowment by the Bank of Boston, awards grants to schools and teachers that develop innovative projects in elementary and high schools;
- ACCESS (Action Center for Education Services and Scholarship), launched with an endowment of $1 million from The New England Mutual Life Insurance Company (The New England), focuses its efforts on graduates of the Boston Public Schools who plan to go to college but who either need counseling about obtaining financial aid or "last dollar" support when they have exhausted other resources. The $1 million from The New England was a challenge grant, and other organizations and businesses in Boston have contributed in excess of $2 million toward the ACCESS goal of $5 million;
- The Teacher Fellowship Program, established with a grant of $300,000 from the Bank of New England, supports continuing education for outstanding Boston public school teachers; and
- HEART (Hancock Endowment for Academics, Recreation and Teaching), created with a $1 million grant from John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, awards grants to Boston public middle schools for basic skills and recreation programs.

While each of these newer efforts and special programs is potentially important, some were only in their initial stages when the P/PV study was conducted in mid-1986, and others are beyond our focus on school/business partnerships and will not, therefore, be assessed in this study.

P/PV's assessment of the Compact is part of a larger study of school/business collaborations that focuses on several key questions:

How do school/business collaborations work and what do they do?

Do school/business partnerships actually result in significant benefits to minority and disadvantaged youth?

What makes a partnership effective?

What incentives do these partnerships offer the private sector?

Public/Private Ventures included the Boston Compact as part of its study of school/business collaborations for several reasons. The Compact is an example of an initiative that seeks to change the quality of education provided by an entire school district through a partnership between the school district and the public corporate community. In pursuing this goal, the Compact displays several distinctive features:

- Comprehensiveness. The Compact encompasses many examples of collaboration among schools, businesses and other institutions--adopt-a-school programs, curriculum development, work/study opportunities, after-school and summer jobs programs, scholarships and grants. Many of these discrete efforts exist in other communities. Boston's approach is interesting because it attempts to coordinate the different efforts of multiple corporate and individual actors.

- Service to a minority and disadvantaged school population. The Boston Compact seeks to improve the quality of education in a school system that serves a student population composed predominantly of minorities and the economically disadvantaged. Its efforts are directed at a school district that has faced significant social, political and economic problems for more than a decade.

- Clearly elucidated quantitative goals. Although all school/business collaborations espouse quality education and improved employment opportunities for graduates, the Compact has achieved consensus on concrete numerical levels toward which program activities can be directed and against which program success can be measured.

In addition to the basic questions concerning school/business collaborations, several other questions specific to the Compact also emerged. Some of these questions center on its systemic approach:

> What evidence exists to suggest that the Compact is more than its individual components?
>
> To what extent has the Compact redirected or revitalized existing school improvement programs in Boston?
>
> As the Compact has matured, in what ways has business participation evolved?
>
> To what extent has the Compact been able to foster educational change or the delivery of education within Boston public schools?

P/PV's review of the Compact is not intended to be a definitive history or evaluation. Other researchers have already completed in-depth descriptions of its development and initial years. Still others have undertaken in-depth studies of individual schools and components of the Compact. Similarly, simply considering the Compact's achievement of numerical goals would, we believe, be inappropriate as the sole measure of an initiative whose larger objective is fostering a supportive context for public school improvement in Boston. In contrast to other studies, P/PV's assessment seeks to study the Boston Compact as an operating school/business collaboration. The report focuses on the activities of three key actors in the Boston Compact--the Boston Public Schools, the Private Industry Council and the Boston business community. Each will be treated separately in ensuing chapters drawing upon P/PV's observations and quantitative data relevant to specific Compact goals.

This report is based on extensive observations and interviews conducted by P/PV during the late spring and early summer of 1986. The research team conducted site observations in eight high schools. The observations included class visits and interviews with headmasters, guidance office staff, teachers, members of the schools' planning teams, development officers, career specialists and students. In addition, the team interviewed representatives of more than a dozen businesses involved in the Compact, talking with managers, human resource or personnel office staff, and supervisors. The team also interviewed individuals closely linked to the development and execution of the Compact, including its director, the director of the Private Industry Council and others. P/PV also analyzed Compact documents and used aggregate data from the school district to assess school- and district-level changes in key educational indicators.

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Chapter II provides a brief summary of the context from which the Compact emerged, noting key events leading to its creation. Chapter III discusses the Compact as it is implemented in the schools; Chapter IV, the role of the Private Industry Council in implementing and coordinating many parts of the Compact initiative; and Chapter V, business participation and commitment. The final chapter presents an assessment of the Compact as a vehicle for school improvement and considers the implications the initiative has for school/business collaborations in general.

II. CONTEXT OF THE COMPACT'S DEVELOPMENT

Like many urban areas during the 1960s and 1970s, Boston experienced significant changes in its various communities, its economic base and its social and political climate. These changes were reflected and often amplified in the public schools. The business community was also affected; its relationship with and interest in city issues markedly increased. The Boston Compact was rooted in this context.

A brief review of critical events in Boston during the last 15 years provides insight into the confluence of factors that helped raise demands for system-wide improvement in the public schools while simultaneously forging the linkages prerequisite to implementing the "bargains" set forth in the Compact. These factors include such school system changes as desegregation, rapid turnover of school and district leadership, ineffective management within the school district and the erosion of public confidence in the school system. Changes in demographic, residential and labor force composition had caused concern among the city's corporate leaders, who predicted a diminishing pool of qualified entry-level workers and a change in the overall image of the city as a center of employment.

DESEGREGATION

In 1974, Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity handed down an historic 152-page opinion that stated:

> The court concludes that the defendants *[The Boston School Committee]* have knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers and school facilities and have intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system. Therefore, the entire school system of Boston is unconstitutionally segregated. (Lukas: 1985: 238)

The court action followed the failure over several years of local and state authorities to resolve the problem of racially unbalanced schools; by state law, a school was considered unbalanced if it contained 50 percent or more black students. The Boston School Committee had purposely avoided the issue, and the number of unbalanced schools had risen from 45 in 1965 to 67 in 1971. In 1974, attempts were made to repeal the legislation that had set the standards for assessing the degree of imbalance in the schools (the Racial Imbalance Act) as another way of deferring desegregation. Although unsuccessful (the state legislature voted to repeal the Act but Governor Sargent vetoed the measure), a proposal for voluntary one-way busing or "freedom of choice"

257

for blacks was offered as an alternative, along with an emphasis on magnet schools designed to attract integrated enrollments.

Despite these attempts to impede integration, Judge Garrity appointed a panel of experts known as "masters" to develop a plan to desegregate the schools. Subsequently, he placed one high school and an administrative office in the central school district office in court receivership. Among Judge Garrity's first actions to redress the racial imbalance was the imposition of court-mandated busing. He and his staff then set about devising a permanent citywide plan to reflect the racial composition of the city and its communities.

One immediate impact of the desegregation order was chaos in both the streets and the schools, followed by massive white flight to the suburbs or the transfer of white students to the extensive network of private, mostly parochial, schools within the city. As a result, city schools lost their traditional constituency. From 1970 to 1982, enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools declined from 93,000 to 61,000, a decrease of 34.8 percent. This decline was 60 percent greater than that in the rest of the state and more than two and a half times greater than the public school enrollment declines in the rest of the country. Projections prepared in 1982 for 1995 stood at 40,000 students enrolled, a reduction of 57 percent in 25 years.

SCHOOL DISTRICT PROBLEMS

In the decade following desegregation, the school district was characterized by many observers as lacking leadership and effective management. The position of school superintendent was filled nine times in almost as many years. The School Committee, in addition to resisting court-ordered busing, grappled with the implications of prison sentences for committee members involved in bribery and charges of having greater interest in allotting patronage jobs than in education. Many of the senior administrative positions in the School Committee were either vacant or filled on a temporary basis.

Lacking leadership and support at the district level, individual school leadership suffered. The example of Charlestown High illustrates this problem: a headmaster who had been immensely popular prior to desegregation was forced to take sick leave following death threats and constant verbal attacks by students, parents and residents of Charlestown when busing was implemented.

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

In contrast to the turmoil in the schools and Boston neighborhoods, the decade preceding the signing of the Compact saw the beginning of growth and expansion in jobs, particularly in banking, insurance, retail firms, medical facilities and government offices. The housing industry--both redevelopment of old houses and new home construction--was healthy. Major downtown development projects such as the Fanueil Hall area and the new City Hall/Government Center were other manifestations of an awakening economy. With this improved image and the celebration of the nation's bicentennial, Boston's appeal to tourists and local pride grew.

Increased housing costs, resulting from urban growth and gentrification, coupled with white flight from desegregation, produced changes in the labor market, particularly among entry-level workers. Employers could not attract entry-level workers from the suburbs. In fact, many larger corporations shifted some operations to new sites to tap the suburban employee pool. Nevertheless, many positions remained in center city Boston, though fewer and fewer traditional entry-level workers lived there. Demographic changes also affected the number of young adults available to fill such positions. The business community began to realize that shortages in entry-level workers--43 percent fewer 19-year-olds in Massachusetts are projected by 1993--could severely jeopardize future economic expansion.

This potential dearth of qualified entry-level workers became a major factor in demands for academic improvement in the Boston Public Schools. The student body was 70 percent black or Hispanic; 60 percent came from families receiving welfare, 40 percent lived in public housing, and many of these students had academic deficiencies. The recognition that these were the city's future entry-level workers provided an impetus for the business community to get involved.

BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT AND LINKAGES

Prior to 1981, business involvement with the schools had taken the form of school/business partnerships, an effort designed by the Tri-Lateral Council for Quality Education, a nonprofit organization established in 1974. It aimed to foster business partnerships with the schools at the time of desegregation. The Tri-Lateral Council was the first to suggest establishing measurable goals as a more coherent way to attack the problems of the school system. Frustrated with its apparent lack of impact over the preceding eight years, the council, consisting of representatives of both the schools and the business community, suggested a measurement known as the "90/90 formula": 90 percent retention of freshman through graduation and the successful placement of 90 percent of graduating seniors in jobs or further education.

A parallel development was the addition in 1978 of Title VII of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Title VII mandated, on an experimental basis, the inclusion of private sector employment as part of this federal employment and training legislation. In particular, Title VII provided limited grants to create Private Industry Councils (PICs) to coordinate employment and training activities within the private sector. While the PIC was originally formed to address the issue of unemployment among disadvantaged adults, the focus gradually expanded to include non-literate, potentially unemployable youth who later would become unemployed adults.

The PIC was able to tap into the existing network of corporate leaders known as the Coordinating Committee, or Vault, an umbrella organization for the business community's civic activity. While not previously active in either youth or education-related programs, members of the Vault were recruited onto the PIC board by William S. Edgerly, former chair of the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives and active member of the Committee for Economic Development on the national level.

The PIC emerged as an effective organization, dealing with issues of youth and employment through the success of two major programs, the Boston Summer Jobs Program--an initiative designed to place high school students in private sector summer jobs--and the Jobs Collaborative--an in-school job preparation program established in three high schools through a 1981 grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation. With both programs designed and operated as collaborative efforts by the school system, the Tri-Lateral Council and the Neighborhood Development and Employment Agency (NDEA), a solid working relationship was built.

These working relationships made it possible to assemble a group of representatives from both public and private arenas with interest in improving public school education. Many of these individuals had worked together before on issues relating to employment and training of the disadvantaged. Jim Daar, executive director of the Boston PIC, and Bob Schwartz, executive director the Compact, had previously worked together at the Center for Public Service at Brandeis University. Schwartz had worked also with Paul Grogan, head of the NDEA, while acting as advisor on education to the mayor of Boston. And both Daar and Schwartz had worked on the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment under the Carter administration with William Spring, who was head of the Tri-Lateral Council in 1982 when the Compact was designed. With a sense of trust and respect already established, work on the Compact proceeded.

The final and perhaps key factor in the context was the appointment of Robert Spillane as superintendent of schools in 1981. Recruited from second-in-command at the New York State Department of Education to fill the "revolving-door" office of school superintendent, Spillane was the fourth superintendent hired in 13 months.

His early actions signaled the business community that he was a man of action, willing and able to take control. In Spillane's first months, he averted a teachers' strike, hired a financial administrator to control the school district budget, filled the vacant or temporarily-held senior administrative positions in the school department, laid off teachers, replaced "recalcitrant" headmasters, established a base for improvement by publicly admitting a cumulative dropout rate among public school students approaching 50 percent, and sought outside support and assistance for the schools in frequent speeches before groups of community business leaders.

One other event provided additional impetus to the creation of the Compact. In 1978, the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP) was passed as part of The Youth Employment Demonstration Programs Act. YIEPP was designed to test the effects of a guaranteed job, part-time during the school year and full-time during the summer, on the attendance and performance of urban youth. Boston was chosen as one of the demonstration sites, creating a good working relationship between business, the employment and training programs, and the schools, and also developing a cadre of individuals in Boston with experience in the problems of youth employment.

THE COMPACT

In September 1982, members of the business community and representatives of the city and the school district came together to formally sign the Boston Compact. After several months of meetings, representatives of the PIC, the business community and school district developed a 107-page document describing a strategy for revitalizing the public schools that involved the schools and the larger community. The text of the Compact details the expectations for school improvement and a promise to provide job opportunities for graduates. The agreement also describes specific steps that employers agree to follow in recruiting and hiring Boston public high school graduates and sets conditions for them to evaluate their participation in the Compact on a yearly basis. Fifteen companies and other organizations signed the Compact at its inception. More than 250 additional companies joined during the next year. By 1987, 369 employers had signed the Compact. Many more Boston companies participated in Compact activities without signing the agreement.

Publicity surrounding the Compact was extensive and positive. The Boston Globe described its signing as "as good a piece of news as the city has received in some time," noting that while business involvement was not purely altruistic, schools and students would benefit. An initial campaign to recruit business

261

support was emphasized by the Compact because it was the first symbolic goal to which the business community had agreed.

The Compact itself was not a totally new initiative, but rather a further formalization of public/private relationships that already existed in Boston. Although the specificity of goals (5 percent annual improvements in daily attendance, test scores and dropout rates; 200 jobs) were not matched with programs that were as specifically delineated, it set a structure to be followed when other groups, the universities and the unions, became part of the Compact. These institutions could not just "sign" the Compact; participation had to be closely linked to job training and placement, preparation for further education or assistance with financing higher education.

III. SCHOOL PARTICIPATION IN THE COMPACT

School improvement is the primary objective of the Compact's many activities and it is in the schools where the most visible activities occur. While the Compact seeks to improve public education at all levels, its major activities have been directed at secondary education. It is in the high schools where the problems--attrition, low attendance, poor academic achievement--reach their highest levels. It is also directly from high schools that students apply for jobs. Finally, it is to students in high school that businesses can offer work experience and full-time employment as part of an effort to improve the quality of education.

As part of its research effort, P/PV visited eight of Boston's 17 public high schools. They were chosen by school district personnel to enable observation of a range of business involvement in Compact activities and of school innovation within the Compact framework.[1]

This chapter summarizes observations made during these school visits, focusing on the dual role of the high schools--as participants and as recipients--in the Compact. It begins with a brief summary of the Boston public school system and the role the school district has taken in the Compact. Second, the discussion focuses on educational and management thrusts in the schools since the initiation of the Compact, including a new emphasis on planning and leadership, and creation of new school positions. Section three reports the changes in several educational indicators--average daily attendance, standardized test scores and student retention rates--by which some of the effects of the

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[1] The eight schools visited were Boston Technical, Brighton, Jeremiah Burke, Charlestown, Copley, East Boston, English and South Boston. The selection of these schools was not random. Two examination schools, Boston Latin School and Boston Latin Academy were excluded for two reasons--the admission standards for enrollment mean that their student bodies are not educationally disadvantaged, and their involvement in Compact activities was limited. Two other schools--Dorchester and Jamaica Plain--are believed to be highly involved in Compact activities, but are being intensively studied by other educational researchers; it was argued that another set of observations would be an undue strain. The remaining 13 schools were then ranked by the director of the Compact according to his assessment of the degree to which they espoused the initiative. From this ranking, 10 schools were selected to represent the full range. Scheduling conflicts (examinations, school trips, researcher availability) reduced the pool of schools to be visited to eight.

Compact can be assessed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the longer-range educational effects that the Compact might have.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS: THE SETTING

The Boston public school system, the object of considerable national and local attention during the past two decades, is, by many standards, relatively small. In 1984-85, the most recent school year for which data are available, the system served about 55,000 students in grades K-12 in more than 115 schools; about 15,500[2] were enrolled in 17 high schools. This contrasts with the estimated 75,600 students enrolled in 160 Boston public schools in 1977-78, and the 20,000 students enrolled in secondary schools in 1978-79.

During 1984-85, more than 4,800 administrators, teachers and other professionals and an additional 800 teachers' aides staffed the schools. Among the system's 4,150 teachers, almost two-thirds (64%) hold academic degrees at the master's level or beyond. Substantial decreases in enrollment during the past seven years have not brought a corresponding reduction in teachers: during the six-year period, the teaching staff declined by about 75.

Despite its relatively small enrollment, the Boston public school system has been confronted by problems and issues normally experienced by much larger systems. Because they serve a linguistically diverse population, Boston schools provide instruction in more than 20 languages. A number of high schools have separate bilingual programs in Italian, Spanish, Vietnamese, Greek and Khmer, in which almost 15 percent of all students are enrolled. Systemwide, Boston public school students are broken into the following racial/ethnic categories: 27 percent white, 50 percent black, 8 percent Asian and 12 percent Hispanic.

As described in Chapter II, the schools have also been the focal point of considerable racial and ethnic tension. Some schools weathered the period of tension with little turmoil. In other cases, the toll on education for students and teachers was considerable. For example, Charlestown High School was the center of considerable strain in the years following the desegregation order. Television news crews daily set up their equipment in Bunker Hill Monument Park across the street from the high school's original site[3] to report any problems that arose during the school day. Learning in that environment became secondary to making it through another day. Even at its new location, Charlestown has not been able to free itself from controversy; a student was shot during a sporting event at the school during the first year the new school was open. However, over time, the effects of desegregation diminished as new students entered and the fears of the 1970s waned.

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[2] Excluding 7th and 8th graders enrolled in two examination schools.

[3] The school moved to a new facility in 1978.

The 17 public high schools in Boston are quite different from each other. Some were built before the turn of the century; others in the last decade. They include three premier schools--Boston Latin Academy, Boston Latin School and Boston Technical High School--where passing a highly competitive examination is required for enrollment. The other Boston high schools house a variety of magnet schools, many initially established in response to forced desegregation. Magnet programs, available in most non-examination high schools, include business, specialized vocational education, agribusiness, the performing arts, health careers, home improvement enterprises and international studies.

Indicators of school performance also vary widely across the 17 schools. For example, in the three examination schools, average daily attendance surpasses 90 percent, standardized test scores indicate that more than 90 percent meet or exceed Degrees of Reading Power (DRP) standards of competence, and average scores on the Metropolitan Reading and Mathematics tests are up to 40 percentile points higher than the all-Boston average. In a recent survey, more than 90 percent of the 1985 graduates of the Latin Academy and Boston Latin were enrolled in postsecondary education (more than 75 percent enrolled in four-year colleges). Among graduates of Boston Technical High School, three in five were enrolled in post-secondary education.

In contrast, average daily attendance rates at the other public high schools dip as low as 76 percent. Academic achievement levels are also low. Systemwide among 12th-graders, three in eight (37.5%) fail to meet the DRP standard. While post-secondary enrollment school rates reach 50 percent in some non-examination schools, less than one-third of 1985 graduates of Boston High, Hyde Park and South Boston high schools enrolled in postsecondary education.

THE COMPACT IN THE SCHOOLS

The Boston School Committee, led by then Superintendent Robert Spillane, agreed to the terms of the Compact as a means of garnering support from the business community. For its part, the district established a small unit to help schools and businesses establish relationships and to challenge schools to develop plans and programs to achieve the goals set by the agreement. Spillane charged this unit, headed by Robert Schwartz, with implementing the Compact within the schools. Spillane underscored his commitment to achieving the Compact's goals by locating this unit in his office. Under Schwartz's leadership, the unit developed guidelines for school planning, required individual schools to submit their plans for review and comment, and distributed planning grants of $1,000 to $1,500 to individual schools. These small grants often served as "seed money" for new initiatives in the school but were insufficient to support entirely new programs.

Beyond the creation of this unit, Spillane continued his role as ambassador to the business and academic communities, and his headmasters and principals. Their performance would be evaluated using the standards set by Compact. Each school was expected to show progress by improving standardized test scores, raising average daily attendance and lowering dropout rates. Headmasters whose schools failed to improve on these measures would be judged accordingly. Within the district, the Compact and its initiatives were presented as tools for headmasters and school planning teams to use in achieving the school's targets in attendance, attrition and test improvement.

Four elements characterize the implementation of the Compact in Boston's high schools:

- Annual School Plan;
- New emphasis on educational leadership and management within the schools;
- Creation of new support in the positions of school development officer and career specialist; and,
- Revitalized relationships between the schools and their business and university partners.

Below, we discuss these elements in detail.

Annual School Plan

One of the principal components of the Compact was a mandated, formal annual planning and review process for each of the 17 high schools. The annual school planning process comprised several steps: identifying school strengths and weaknesses, establishing goals for school improvement, proposing steps to achieve these goals and evaluating progress made toward them.

The products of the process were preliminary annual plans submitted to the Superintendent's Office for School Assistance. The annual plans were required to address five major areas of concern:

- Academic achievement--improving test scores and the student dropout rate, increasing college and/or employment placements and focusing on staff development;

- Parent/community support--increasing parental and community involvement in the school, and promoting staff participation in community meetings and events with a view to building a constituency for the school and allies in support of school policies;

- Graduate placement--increasing the number of college and job placements;

- School climate--improving average daily attendance (of both students and staff); reducing tardiness, the dropout rate, vandalism, suspensions and expulsions; and increasing participation in extracurricular and interscholastic activities; and

- New school initiatives--identifying an area of the school, either physical or academic, that is in particular need of attention during that year.

Each school was required to submit an annual School Improvement Plan and was awarded a small planning grant to pursue the proposed improvement activities. Some headmasters appointed school planning councils to help develop the plan. Some councils had as many as 20 members; others as few as six. Membership included administrators, department heads, teachers and representatives of the school's business and college partners. Some councils also included parents, students and other members of the community. Larger councils often divided into small committees to draft sections of the plan. In some schools, headmasters chose to draft the plan themselves, with limited participation by others in the school.

In schools where the planning was an important aspect of school administration, the planning team usually met two or three times a year: at the end of the school year to review the goals for the year, assess the effectiveness of the efforts taken to meet those goals, and develop the plan for the coming year; at the beginning of the new school year to present the plan to the staff and generate enthusiasm for the planned activities; and at mid-year to evaluate progress made toward the goals and to revise strategies to meet them.

The planning process was for the most part welcomed as an opportunity to provide input into school management and tap into resources made available through the Compact. Staff support was often enlisted following initial resistance to perceived "top-down" directives and interference from outsiders. Three headmasters complained that drafting the plan was time consuming and onerous, especially when some sections were sent back for revision following review.

The plans themselves vary widely. The format consists of a set of questions or topics on which the school's planning team must formulate a response. Teams are required to describe their school, its educational strengths and weaknesses, and the strategies proposed to improve overall educational delivery. Three of the six plans P/PV reviewed are notable because they used the questions as springboards for discussion of educational issues. The other three respond perfunctorily to most questions, providing only the minimum facts, statements and data to answer questions. Administrators in two of the eight schools visited were unable to locate a copy of their school plan.

In five of the schools visited, headmasters and administrators seized upon the planning process as an opportunity to elicit comments and support from all parts of the school community and to develop jointly a master plan for enriching the school. The plan became a catalyst for action. Planning councils met as often as once a month and subcommittees also met frequently. In these schools, teachers were aware that a plan existed; many cited it in discussions and expressed an interest in the following year's plan and objectives. As one headmaster put it, "I don't necessarily refer to the plan every day, but each month or so I pull it out to see how we're doing." Some headmasters also noted that the exercise of writing an annual school improvement plan helped formalize and quantify their ideas for improvement, and the Compact made resources available to make them operational.

Other schools used the opportunity to plan even more extensively. In one school, instead of the two or three planning team meetings described above, the team held regular monthly meetings during which the five subcommittees (which coincide with the five areas targeted for improvement) reported on the preceding month's progress and discussed new objectives. The leadership role taken by the headmaster and the staff support generated by the school development officer played an important role in establishing the team as an active and involved decision-making body that produced results. The attendance of the business partner at these monthly meetings also proved useful in garnering resources. One example: a school's business partner, observing an outstanding need, asked his own employees to volunteer their time to paint the interior of the whole school.

In two of the schools visited, the development of the annual plan appeared to have been completed merely to satisfy submission requirements. School planning councils were small, represented only a few of the school's departments and met only once a year. The document was of little use to the school as a planning tool or blueprint for school improvement. Within these schools, few teachers had heard of the document and even fewer had seen it. Even in a school where planning did occur (though outside the framework of the Compact), a headmaster underscored his resentment at submitting a plan by stating: "Just because a program is successful at Dorchester High [a school where most Compact components were experimentally tried] doesn't mean that it should be introduced here."

Emphasis on School Leadership and Management

Each of the eight schools visited was characterized by a strong headmaster, several of them fairly recent appointments. Conversations with them, departmental chairs, faculty and students indicated that the headmasters had made their mark on the school by developing new programs, managing crises and setting school priorities. One example was the headmaster at English High School, who reorganized his school into its present schools-within-school concept. In an attempt to anchor students and make the school more manageable, the 10-story school was divided into three school-within-school units: the Cluster Program for 9th-graders, and a choice of the Traditional/Magnet Arts Program or the Fenway Program for 10th- to 12th-graders. The headmaster was also credited with dramatically improving school morale and public image.

Few teachers named the Compact as the source of the improvements they saw. In fact, teachers often either downplayed the importance of the Compact or separated specific aspects or programs from the entire initiative. Many expressed suspicion of the school district's motivation for entering into the Compact. They wondered whether some of the solutions might have been more easily found within the schools than outside the them. Teachers also expressed concern that the business community was unaware of the depth and magnitude of school problems and would merely offer simplistic solutions that laid both additional burdens and blame on teachers. Thus, while teachers were genuinely receptive to many specific aspects of the Compact, they were reserved in their support of the overall initiative.

New School Positions: Development Officer and Career Specialist

Perhaps the most visible symbol of the Compact within high schools was the creation of two new positions in the schools. Development officers are the principal liaisons between the schools and their business partners. Career specialists, whose role is more fully described in the next chapter, are full-time employees of the Private Industry Council assigned to the high school as part of a contract the school district had with the PIC. Their activities were confined to job preparation and job-matching tasks; they helped students with their resumes and job search skills and developed work positions among Compact sponsors and other organizations.

Development officers observed in six high schools helped the school take advantage of the resources that the Compact offered. In two high schools, Copley Square and South Boston, partnership activities were coordinated by either an administrative assistant or an assistant headmaster in addition to their other responsibilities. The development officer's job was to solicit a list of the needs of the school, its departments, its teachers and its students on an ongoing basis, then, using the flexibility and opportunities allowed by the Compact, to draw on the resources of the school's business partner, the community and the Compact office itself to meet those needs. In general, development officers coordinated guest speakers, field trips, tutor and mentor programs, awards banquets and SAT workshops, and identified needs in the school that the business partner or other community resource might address. In the two schools in which the development officer role was delegated on a part-time basis, the range of benefits and contacts that the development officers could maintain with the schools' business partners was limited.

In addition to coordinating these partnership activities, the development officer was also a member of the School Improvement Planning Team. The emphasis and scope given to this role, however, varied among schools: in four of the eight schools, development officers concentrated on morale-building activities rather than academic achievement programs; in two schools, development officers divided their time equally between the two. Only in one or two instances, however, was the development officer directly involved with curriculum and instructional improvement.

In all but one case, the development officer was a former teacher in the high school. Several had been departmental chairs in the school or had served in administrative positions; others had taught for only a few years before accepting the position as development officer. Development officers were members of the teacher's union and could, if they wished, return to teaching. If they had been granted tenure as teachers, this status was not jeopardized by accepting the development officer position.

In general, development officers received high praise from headmasters, departmental chairs and teachers. Their efforts on behalf of the school were appreciated. Their mandate to secure support in the community meant that the school became more accessible to business partners and others. Teachers and headmasters also noted that development officers provided them the opportunity and contacts to reach out into the community themselves. In particular, teachers cited development officers for setting up relationships between teachers and businesspeople to share ideas, keep abreast of new developments or discuss ways to integrate real world experiences into their teaching. Several teachers also secured summer internships in area businesses through programs coordinated by their development officer.

The primary effect of the development officers' activities has been most apparent in the area of teacher morale. The development officer could address teachers' concerns and needs as they arose. The development officer helped to gain access to resources outside the school. Teachers commented that their development officer obtained financial support, in-kind contributions, tours and other services that in the past they had not been able to secure. They reported that these actions improved how they and their colleagues felt about teaching.

In many instances the development officer and the career specialist worked in tandem to meet the needs of the school. In several cases, they shared common or adjacent offices and worked as a team. In other schools, the development officer was treated as part of the administration and the career specialist was only nominally integrated into the rest of school.

Brighton High was an example of a school where the development officer and career specialist worked closely. The position began as a part-time school improvement coordinator and grew into a full-time position as development officer. The Brighton development officer worked with the Brighton Board of Trade, a local small-business group, to develop new jobs beyond those supplied by the school's business partners.

At Charlestown High School, the development officer and career specialist shared an office near the guidance department. The development officer focused on identifying the needs of individual teachers and departments and the school in general. However, he also referred students to the career specialist and worked with the specialist to develop outreach programs for students who might obtain jobs through the Compact.

The change in superintendent from Robert Spillane to Laval Wilson brought uncertainty to the position of development officer in many of the schools. Faced with a need to reduce the overall school budget and constrained by the number of positions protected within each school under desegregation orders, Wilson requested that headmasters make decisions on which positions to eliminate. Often, the position of development officer was vulnerable. While one headmaster was hard-pressed to choose between the value to the school of the career specialist and the development officer, others were quite clear on which of the positions they would rather retain. While the career specialist brought jobs to the students, the benefits accruing to the school through the development officer were seen as far outweighing those jobs. However, despite this preference among headmasters to retain their development officer, the superintendent opted to sustain the contract with the PIC for career specialists. As a result, development officer positions in at least three of the six schools were targeted for elimination. However, most development officer positions were retained and in the subsequent fiscal year's budgetary process, recommendations for staff cuts did not include the development officer positions.

This change may affect many Compact activities in the school. The development officer often served as the catalyst for developing new programs, discovering new resources for the school and generating enthusiasm for achieving the school's academic and morale goals.

CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL INDICATORS

Within the Compact, schools committed themselves to improving their performance on several key educational indicators. At the system and school level, three measures are of particular significance: achievement in reading and mathematics, average daily attendance and dropout rates. A summary of progress on these indicators is presented below.

Achievements in Reading and Mathematics Skills

Boston public schools use the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) to assess academic performance in reading and mathematics for 9th-, 10th- and 11th-graders, and to compare their achievements with national norms. Table III.1 shows how BPS students fared in reading and math in the period between 1982-83 and 1984-85. These data are presented in median percentiles, a measure that compares the performance of the average student in the Boston Public Schools--the student who achieves a median score, or the score above which half of the students score higher and half score lower--to national norms. A median percentile of 70 would mean that the average BPS student--the one who scores exactly at the median for his grade level in the Boston Public Schools--had a score that was higher than that of 70 percent of the students at that grade level in the national sample. Similarly, a median percentile score of 38 means that the student who scored at the median of the distribution for BPS students only scored higher than 38 percent of the students in the national sample.

The citywide median for all high school grades in 1982-83 placed Boston students in the second quintile (median percentiles between 21 and 40) for both reading and mathematics. Looking across all grades, for both reading and math, Table III.1 makes it clear that as a general rule Boston public school students score lower than the national norm in both reading and math. The median percentile ranges from 21 to 41, suggesting that Boston students are outscored by between 60 percent and 79 percent of students in the national sample.

TABLE III.1

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT TEST RESULTS:
1982-83 TO 1984-85
(Median Percentiles)

	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	Change
Reading				
Grade 9	38	46	48	10
Grade 10	36	40	46	10
Grade 11	40	44	40	0
Mathematics				
Grade 9	30	42	50	20
Grade 10	36	40	44	8
Grade 11	38	46	46	8

Since 1982-83, however, substantial system wide improvements in both reading and mathematics have been made, especially among 9th- and 10th-graders. For example, the 1984-85 9th-grade median percentile in mathematics was 50, an increase of 20 percentiles since 1982-83. Thus, Boston 9th-graders matched national levels in mathematics by 1984-85. Reading medians increased 10 percentiles among 9th- and 10th-graders during the same period. Improvements of less magnitude in mathematics among 10th- and 11th-graders have also been recorded. No net change in 11th-grade reading medians was recorded. Overall, MAT scores improved enough during the period to place Boston 9th-, 10th- and 11th-graders within the third quintile (41 to 60), though still below the national median. In sum, the results suggest that although they remain below national norms, Boston students have made some progress in reading and mathematics.[4]

It is important, however, to learn whether these improvements are confined to one or two schools with extraordinary improvements or reflect a pattern of systemwide change. Analyses of the performance of individual schools on these tests during the same period indicate that baseline performance varies widely and that the degree of improvement also differs. Few consistent patterns emerge: the college preparatory examination schools (Boston Latin School and Boston Latin Academy) report MAT scores that usually place them in the top quintile (81 to 100) in reading and mathematics for most grades. Given the already high achievement levels in these schools, it would be unreasonable to expect substantial improvement in their scores during the period. It would be impressive if each school could maintain its position. In fact, few changes were reported.

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[4] In 1986, after P/PV's field research period had concluded, Boston Public Schools released new MAT test results based on the May 1985 testing period. These results are those of a newly-normed standardized test that adjusted for the general rise in basic skills competencies throughout the nation's schools since 1978. In addition, the new test results differently weights various components in the overall final score. These scores indicate that among high school students, median percentiles in reading had risen by one point among ninth-graders and had dropped four and five points among 10th- and 11th-graders respectively. Relative losses in median percentile ranking in math were more pronounced. Declines of eight and seven points were reported among 9th- and 10th-graders and 12 points among 11th-graders. These findings must be interpreted cautiously and cannot be directly compared with prior scores and judged to indicate a decline in students' reading and math abilities. Rather, as the BPS report concludes, they indicate that "in spite of the significant progress achieved by BPS over the past few years, overall student performance lags behind national norms." (1986:6).

Although the other examination school (Boston Technical High School) cannot boast the same high levels as its college preparatory sister schools, it too reported median percentiles for mathematics in excess of 60 for all grades, and reading scores near or above 50 across grades. Changes between 1982-83 and 1984-85 were modest, paralleling those of the two other examination schools.

Moving away from the examination schools to the BPS comprehensive high schools, substantially lower achievement scores were reported. While most median scores hovered between the 20th and 35th percentile, some schools reported initial baseline scores for the school year 1983-84 as low as 11 and 14. However, comprehensive high schools reported substantial increases between 1982-83 and 1984-85. In particular, four schools showed substantial improvements in testing results across grades. These were Boston High School, Charlestown High School, Mario Umana Technical High School and Jamaica Plain High School. Each was ranked among the schools reporting the greatest improvement in reading and math scores for all grades.

The consistent appearance of three or four schools in such rankings is not surprising. A concerted effort to improve in testing in general, or in a particular subject area, can result in substantial change. However, a review of school improvement across all grades for reading or mathematics reveals that only six of the 17 schools never appear among the five with the greatest improvement, and three of these are the examination schools whose existing levels of academic achievement make striking increases unlikely.

Changes in academic performance, though of uneven magnitude across schools, seem to be occurring throughout Boston high schools. Three or four schools consistently showed substantial increases, but they were joined by most other comprehensive high schools in making some improvements. Within the context of academic achievement on standardized tests, Boston public schools are improving and have begun to approach national norms.

However, comparisons with national norms do not directly assess the students' competency level in these subjects. Beginning with the 1985-1986 school year, the Boston School Committee adopted the Degrees of Reading Power (DRP) test to assess reading competencies[5] at various grades. DRP scores can range from 15

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[5] No competency test nor standard for mathematics competency has yet been adopted by the School Committee.

(extremely easy prose) to 100 (extremely difficult prose). The school district describes the DRP this way:

> The test (DRP) measures a student's overall reading comprehension level against a fixed scale of reading difficulty. It indicates a student's ability to process and understand prose in context, rather than showing where the student ranks relative to other students. (School Profiles, 1984-85:x)

The Boston School Committee adopted a standard of 64 as the promotional standard reading competency for 12th-graders. A DRP score of 64 is the approximate level of Time and Newsweek magazines or the editorial page of The Boston Globe. Students who fail to achieve this level are targeted for remediation or retention in grade. Table III.2 reports the proportion of 12th-graders failing to achieve the promotional standard at the end of the 1983-84 and 1984-85 school years.

The findings suggest that approximately one in six 12th-graders failed to achieve the promotional standard in 1984-85. Although no comparable systemwide failure rate was reported for 1983-84, a review of the individual schools suggests that considerable progress was made in many schools since the prior year. The large majority of schools have shown progress in the reading competencies of their 12th-graders. Only a handful of schools reported a slippage. By imposing a promotional standard in reading, the BPS took a bold step toward certifying that graduates are competent. At the same time, however, 18 percent of all seniors failed to meet this standard, indicating that the system still has some distance to travel to ensure that all students who pass through the system are competent in reading.

Average Daily Attendance

In attempting to reach the achievement and dropout reduction targets of the Compact, schools also focused on intermediate goals to mark their progress. Among the most important of these was increased average daily attendance. Most observers agree with school officials that students who attend regularly are more likely to benefit from the educational program than those who are frequently absent. Like many inner-city school districts, Boston's average daily attendance (average number of students attending each day divided by the average number of students enrolled) was a cause of concern.

Table III.2

PERCENTAGE OF 12th-GRADERS FALLING BELOW PROMOTIONAL STANDARD ON DEGREES OF READING POWER (DRP) TEST

(Promotional Standard=64)

	1983-84	1984-85	Change
All High Schools	N.R.*	18.0	---
Boston High	34.4	18.4	-16.0
Boston Technical	3.7	5.0	1.3
Brighton	42.1	27.7	-14.4
Burke	40.5	30.8	- 9.7
Charlestown	29.1	11.9	-17.2
Copley	12.2	22.7	10.5
Dorchester	50.5	30.2	-20.3
East Boston	4.6	7.8	-38.2
English	61.9	22.1	-39.8
Hyde Park	16.0	25.6	9.6
Jamaica Plain	34.7	37.5	2.8
Latin Academy	0.0	0.0	---
Latin School	0.0	6.2	6.2
Madison Park	47.9	19.7	-28.2
Mario Umana	19.8	13.2	- 6.6
South Boston	27.8	26.1	- 1.7
West Roxbury	27.5	22.5	- 5.0

*N.R. = Not reported

Table III.3 reports average daily attendance rates for the system and for individual schools between 1981-82 and 1984-85.[6] Systemwide average attendance in the 1981-82 school year was 77.6, indicating that almost one-quarter of all Boston public high school students were not in attendance on any given school day. One school (South Boston) reported an average daily attendance of less than 66 percent. In contrast, average daily attendance exceeded 87 percent among examination school students. By 1984-85, system-wide average daily attendance had risen 6.4 percentage points to 84 percent.

Across Boston high schools, improvements in average daily attendance varied widely. South Boston, the school reporting the lowest average daily attendance in 1981-82, improved 17.6 points to 85.7. In fact, 12 of the 17 schools reported increases of greater than five points during the period. No schools reported a decline in average daily attendance. Only three schools--Madison Park (0.0), Hyde Park (0.1) and Mario Umana Technical (0.8)--reported virtually no change in attendance rates.

Dropout rates

The most intractable problem Boston public schools have faced is the dropout rate, which mirrors that of many urban school districts in the nation. The problem was clearly recognized by the Compact initiative and specific goals were established to reduce dropout rates by 5 percent each year. Table III.4 presents the cumulative dropout percentage rates for the graduating classes between 1982 and 1985. A cumulative dropout percentage rate is based on analyses of the completion and attrition rates of members of the entering 9th-grade class expected to graduate in four years. In the analysis, all members of the entering 9th-grade class are followed through the 12th or 13th grade (to include nonpromoted 12th-graders). At that point, the total numbers of graduates and dropouts are divided by the number of students originally enrolled four (or five) years earlier to calculate the graduation and dropout rates. One interpretation of the dropout rate is that it indicates the probability that a 9th-grader will leave school without a diploma.

During this period, the overall dropout rate has increased by 6.8 percent. To some degree, the increase may have resulted indirectly from the Compact. As a result of the closer scrutiny given to school numbers and an effort to assess carefully the effects of the Compact, data collection procedures were improved.

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[6] Systemwide average daily attendance rates are estimates based on reported average daily attendance rates for individual schools, adjusted for the average size of the school's student body.

Table III.3

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE BY SCHOOL
1981-82 to 1984-85

School Year	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	Net Change
All High Schools*	77.6	80.1	82.5	84.0	6.4
Boston Technical	82.9	86.1	86.8	90.2	7.3
Brighton	71.5	79.0	79.5	85.7	14.2
Burke	75.1	71.0	82.3	80.7	5.6
Copley	79.1	82.3	86.5	87.4	8.3
Dorchester	73.7	77.3	81.4	83.3	9.6
English	75.3	74.7	81.1	82.8	7.5
Jamaica Plain	72.5	74.8	80.2	81.7	9.2
Madison Park	76.2	79.2	77.7	76.2	0.0
South Boston	65.7	72.9	79.4	83.3	17.6
Boston High	75.8	79.4	85.3	85.7	9.9
Charlestown	74.0	80.2	81.8	80.5	6.5
East Boston	75.9	77.1	79.5	82.8	6.9
Hyde Park	84.0	84.4	80.9	84.1	0.1
Latin Academy	87.1	90.6	90.4	92.2	5.1
Latin School	91.8	92.1	94.7	94.6	2.8
Mario Umana	81.0	80.9	81.6	81.8	0.8
West Roxbury	75.7	77.8	78.4	79.9	4.2

*Estimates of average daily attendance for the total system based on an average of individual attendance rates adjusted for school size.

Table III.4

CHANGES IN DROPOUT RATES AMONG BOSTON PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Graduating Class	Cumulative Dropout Percentage Rate*
1982	36.2
1983	38.0
1984	40.7
1985	43.0

Source: Jeannette S. Hargroves, "The Boston Compact: Facing the Challenge of School Dropouts," Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

*Cumulative dropout percentage rate is based on the entering 9th-grade class expected to graduate in four years. The cumulative rate follows a class from the 9th grade through the 13th year (to include non-promoted 12th-graders) and assesses their graduation/dropout status.

Jeanette Hargroves, who compiled these estimates for the Compact, notes that prior to the 1983-84 school year, many students who in reality had dropped out were erroneously classified as "Moved, No Address," "Other" or "Did Not Report." (1987:4) With new emphasis on accurate data collection, the dropout rates rose. A second interpretation of the reported increases in drop-out rates argues that increased attention to attendance and achievement may have forced less able or less interested students to drop out, leaving only students who have higher academic abilities or motivation in the schools. However, ignoring the debates on whether a "true" increase in dropout rates has occurred and focusing only on the newest rate, it is apparent that the problem persists; the Compact has not achieved its drop-out reduction goal. Almost one-half of all students entering 9th grade will not graduate. This represents more than 3,000 youth from each class who leave high school without a diploma.

The implications of these findings are clear. When attention is focused on a particular area of school improvement, steps can be taken to generate some change. For example, increased attention to academic achievement apparent in Boston and throughout the nation caused school officials to develop methods for improving student test scores. They expanded teacher training and introduced new pedagogical techniques. Several schools ran courses or seminars on how to take tests. Other schools encouraged teachers to emphasize materials that would be on tests, using approaches that better prepared students for the MATs. Teachers stressed the importance of taking the testing seriously and doing well.

In the case of average daily attendance, schools adopted a number of measures to identify student absences better and act on truancy. Schools more closely reviewed their enrollment lists to regularly purge students who had transferred or dropped out. Schools also adopted a plan of action to encourage students to attend. Several purchased automatic phone machines that called students' homes to inform parents that the student had not attended that day. Others pursued various programs to underscore the importance of attending regularly. Apparently, these efforts were fruitful. Reported increases in average daily attendance are likely a combination of improved attendance patterns and better record-keeping by schools.

Improvements in achievement scores and average daily attendance rates indicate that increased attention to schools has paid off, but the continuing dropout problem signaled that school improvement would not be without setbacks. The dropout problem became the major stumbling block in the Compact's attempt at school improvement. Reported at 36.2 percent for the class of 1981, it increased to 43.0 percent among students expected to graduate in 1985.

Under the mantle of the Compact, the Boston community has begun to address the dropout problem comprehensively. The school district, the city, area universities and the business community convened a working conference in May 1986 to discuss the dropout problem and outline an agenda to confront it. Two long-range goals were declared:

- By 1989, reduce the number of students who drop out annually by one-half and double the number of dropouts who return to regular or alternative schools; and
- Extend the focus and resources of the Compact to include middle schools and community agencies serving the needs of school-age children.

In response to the challenge posed by the dropout rate, participants suggested a variety of steps that might be taken to meet these new targets and goals. Suggestions included the creation of new alternative schools, better coordination between schools and human service agencies, assessment of school policies that possibly facilitate attrition, and development and expansion of specific dropout prevention programs. The School Committee and the city began by adopting several of these measures for the 1986-87 school year. One must caution, however, that despite the national attention that has been focused on dropping out in recent years, few solutions have emerged. Only limited and transitory gains have been made.

CONCLUSION

Boston's public schools have changed since the institution of the Compact. Academic achievement, as measured by standardized tests, has risen, though students remain below national norms in reading and mathematics. Average daily attendance has also improved. But school dropout rates remain stubbornly high and unresponsive to efforts thus far. In response, the Compact and the community have recently undertaken a new agenda to confront this issue.

There is also evidence of change within the schools. Educational leadership has become apparent at both the district and individual school levels. Many headmasters have taken opportunities created by the Compact and instituted their own new programs within their schools. They have been assisted by development officers in securing community resources for the school and by career specialists in linking students with part-time, summer and full-time employment.

For their part, teachers reported being aided in their work through specific efforts of the Compact. However, teachers tended to credit individual headmasters and development officers for the improvements and not to attribute them to the Compact. Administrators, teachers and students uniformly spoke of improvements in overall school morale, citing increased school spirit and interest in extracurricular activities.

IV. THE BOSTON PRIVATE INDUSTRY COUNCIL

The Boston Private Industry Council (PIC) coordinates the flow of students and jobs between the schools and the business community. The relatively few linkages between schools and corporations that existed prior to the Compact could be conveniently handled by the single school and its Tri-Lateral Council partner. The initiation of the Compact, however, greatly expanded the number of companies linked with the schools. While fewer than 25 companies were actively engaged in Tri-Lateral Council activities, the Compact eventually mobilized more than 350 companies and organizations. Most were committed to offering full-time and part-time positions to students and graduates. The sheer magnitude of this response, coupled with the actual mechanics of identifying, screening and matching hundreds with employers required a system to manage the process. The PIC's experience in job development and placement in general, and its management of the Jobs Collaborative in particular, made it the appropriate intermediary between schools and businesses for Compact employment activities. This chapter discusses the PIC's key responsibilities and activities.

Boston's PIC is regarded as one of the most effective in the nation. Its board membership closely parallels that of the Vault, and represents the most powerful corporate leaders in the city. Its bylaws require that only CEOs serve on its board; representatives or stand-ins are not allowed. This strong corporate support means that progress toward the Compact's employment goals are subjected to regular scrutiny by the Boston business elite. Yearly Compact employment goals are made public, and considerable peer pressure among PIC corporate members ensures that employment targets are achieved.

The PIC's experience in youth and adult employment and its strong professional staff make it an expert participant in the Compact. Since its formation in 1978, the PIC has been instrumental in screening, counseling and training unemployed adults and youth. In the years immediately preceding the Compact, it had primary responsibility for both the Boston Summer Job Program and the Jobs Collaborative, giving it considerable experience in dealing with youth.

The existence of a strong, experienced PIC ameliorated many of the "start-up" problems that the Compact's employment goals might have engendered. The PIC is the focal point for problem resolution relating to jobs and employment for businesses, schools and students. Employers encountering problems with a PIC-placed youth immediately call PIC offices or the PIC representative in the youth's school (Career Specialist). PIC efforts substantially reduced the work that would have been required in its absence to achieve the Compact's employment targets.

PIC ACTIVITIES

The PIC provides a variety of employment-related services to both businesses and students. These include job-readiness training, job development, candidate screening and matching, eligibility certification for wage-subsidy programs, student career and job counseling and resolving work-related problems among students and employers. The PIC also assumed the responsibility of coordinating the partnerships that already operated within the Tri-Lateral Council.

Employer Participation

After a business expresses an interest in supporting the Compact and agrees to give Boston public high school graduates preference in hiring, a PIC staff member contacts its personnel department to discuss its anticipated job openings, qualifications and other employment-related matters. This information is the basis for screening and referring candidates to the employer. Besides making full-time positions available for graduates, many firms maintain a bank of part-time and summer positions for students still in school.

Career Specialists in the Schools

The PIC has a contract with the Boston Public Schools to provide employment services and counseling in 14 high schools. This initiative, known as the Job Collaborative, was begun on an experimental basis in 1981 when career specialists, supported by a grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, were placed in three high schools. Under the Compact, the program expanded the following year to six high schools and ultimately to 14 in 1985. (Three high schools--the two college preparatory examination schools and a school that was already heavily involved in work-study placements--do not have resident career specialists. However, students in these schools may still take advantage of PIC placement activities.)

Career specialists come from a variety of backgrounds, including teaching. Many have worked as job developers or company personnel employees. Some were involved in retail sales. They approach their jobs with considerable enthusiasm and with a "real world" attitude about what it takes for a student to get and keep a job. They meet with PIC staff assigned to Compact activities biweekly to discuss common problems in their work and upcoming placement initiatives.

The corps of career specialists is the cornerstone of the PIC's efforts within the framework of the Compact. The specialists work directly with administrators, guidance counselors, teachers and students. Many offer courses in job preparation and readiness skills as part of their duties. Most keep a high profile within the school by encouraging students to talk with them about work opportunities and inviting teachers and guidance counselors to refer students who need help finding a job.

The principal reason that the career specialist position works, however, is because each specialist has access to a pool of positions in Boston companies to which he/she can refer qualified students. Each career specialist has 20 or so contacts with Compact signatories who have agreed to give Boston public school graduates preference in hiring. In addition to this base set of contacts, career specialists approach other companies and organizations to solicit full-time and part-time positions.

To qualify for a job through the career specialist, students must demonstrate a responsible attitude toward school, measured by good attendance and passing grades. A job is frequently an incentive for a student to meet these general criteria in hope of encouraging improvement. Students are, of course, able to seek jobs on their own, but those available through the career specialist are frequently more interesting and better paid. Specialists encourage employers to use the PIC referral system instead of hiring directly.

Career specialists divide their placement work across the three types of jobs described above--full-time employment for graduating students, part-time work for continuing students and summer job placements. Depending on the time of the year, the career specialists' activities shift to meet the next employment cycle or phase. Once they place or refer a youth, career specialists monitor students in their positions, serving as ombudsmen for student, employer and school problems. Employers experiencing difficulty with a student in their firm regularly call the career specialist to deal with the problem. Teachers who see a decline in academic performance by a working student may contact the career specialist to intervene. Finally, students themselves often contact the specialist for career and job-related advice.

In preparation for the summer youth employment program, career specialists do initial screening, eligibility certification and work with employers in setting up orientation programs and work assignments.

Career specialists are also an important resource for graduating seniors. Some students are able to convert a part-time or summer position into full-time employment. However, since the number of permanent hires is less than the number of summer hires, many students must seek positions with new companies.

The PIC expects career specialists to play an important role in meeting the Compact's employment objectives each year. As a result, the placement of graduates has become a highly competitive process and the PIC has established two incentive programs to encourage high placement rates. For each placement in excess of 20, the career specialists are paid a bonus or commission of $10 by the PIC. A second approach pairs career specialists from two high schools. The pair with the highest placement rates share a $500 bonus.

Although these incentive programs seem to encourage higher rates, they have been questioned by some who see meeting the needs of students and business becoming secondary to achieving high numbers of placements. For example, although some specialists share the jobs they are unable to fill from their own student body, others do not, resorting instead to placing any student rather than losing the placement to another career specialist with a more qualified student.

The PIC, then, serves as the linchpin between businesses and schools. Its corps of career specialists is a resource for students who seek jobs and is a preliminary screen for businesses seeking employees. The next chapter considers business involvement in Compact activities.

V. BUSINESS PARTICIPATION IN THE COMPACT

Business leaders' willingness to assist the schools and to make jobs available to Boston's students was crucial to launching the Compact. What is unique about the role of business is not the provision of jobs, but the level, continuity and vitality of corporate involvement. Agreement to develop and proceed with the Compact came from Boston's corporate leaders, including the CEOs of Blue Shield of Massachusetts, the New England, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, State Street Bank and Trust Company, and the Bank of Boston. They have not flagged in their willingness to provide the increasing resources needed to accomplish stated goals. Although supervision and oversight of specific programs in the schools were delegated to lower management levels, the commitment to recruit additional firms, design new initiatives and raise large sums of money has remained with the CEOs. Among the specific roles played by key figures are the following:

- Developing support for the Compact in the schools and the business community, especially by keeping the Compact in the public eye;
- Governing the Private Industry Council, which has played a key role in managing job-related components of the Compact;
- Implementing program components that began or continued as part of the Compact agreement; and
- Independently planning and executing new initiatives that extend the Compact, such as the Boston Plan for Excellence.

This section focuses on the major ways that business is involved in the Compact: providing jobs, serving as partners to individual schools and promoting increased corporate support. The description of the business role is based on interviews conducted in 10 private sector organizations selected by the PIC to represent different levels of business involvement. They include four banks, three large insurance companies, two management consulting firms, an accounting firm and a utility.

Neither manufacturing nor high-technology industry was included, reflecting in part their lesser involvement in the Compact. (However, two individuals from high-technology companies that were in partnerships with individual schools were interviewed during a school visit.) Interviews were conducted with CEOs or their high-level representatives, middle-level managers, such as personnel directors and staff from community service divisions, and supervisors of entry-level employees.

INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESS PARTICIPATION

The original motivation for business involvement in the Compact was twofold:

(1) Businesses were concerned about a decline in the number of youth graduating from high school as qualified entry-level workers; and

(2) The prolonged effort to desegregate the schools had shaken public faith in the quality of education in Boston and tainted Boston's reputation nationally, making it difficult to recruit employees.

Businesses view their participation in education through the Compact as enlightened self-interest. At the highest levels, they think of long-term benefits: an increased pool of stronger potential employees in a declining work force, a better economic climate in the city and more potential customers. For the short term, they see the Compact as community service, or "good corporate citizenry"; for banks in particular, involvement in public service is a "must." In some cases, businesses may view the Compact as a way of enhancing their chances of gaining governmental approval for expansion or for obtaining permits; moreover, hiring minority youth also helps them meet affirmative action targets. However, companies often exhibited a sense of "noblesse oblige," and were less concerned about benefits to themselves.

Business leaders also felt they had to become more involved in improving education because they defined the schools and the school administration and staff as "dismal." "It's a tragedy that the private sector has to intervene," said one high-level official whose company was influential in designing the Compact and executing its program components. Some feel that many of the schools still have a long way to go to become effective. "I can't imagine how anyone can get an education in some Boston schools," said another program coordinator. They recognize that many teachers are burned-out and alienated. They see a system that needs staff development and teacher empowerment; it is in these areas that business leaders see a match with their resources.

Several respondents commented on the low esteem in which the public schools in Boston are held. As a result of their involvement, the corporate community has become a stronger booster for the schools than has the general public. Participation in the Compact has become an accepted part of doing business in Boston, though there is wide variation in involvement.

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES WITH STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS

There are two components of direct private sector involvement with schools and students in the Compact framework. The first component is the jobs programs; the second is the partnership program with individual schools. Although both components preceded the Compact, both have grown during the Compact years: summer and permanent placements have doubled, and more money and effort has been expended in partnerships with individual schools.

The Jobs Program

The Boston Compact was framed around business' commitment of priority hiring for Boston's high school graduates in exchange for improvement in the school system. Although there were goals for the business community, individual companies were not required to supply a specific number of jobs in order to "join." They could participate as much or as little as they wished.

The business community hired students for three types of jobs programs: summer jobs, part-time school-year jobs (Jobs Collaborative and Externship Programs), and full-time jobs for graduates. All three are coordinated at the school level by a PIC-sponsored career specialist, whose job was described in the previous chapter. The largest and most visible job placement effort, both at the schools and within the businesses, is the summer jobs program. When one mentions "Boston Compact" in Boston, people are more likely to think of the summer jobs programs than of graduate hiring.

Through the efforts of career specialists and coordinating staff at the PIC, job commitments are solicited from Boston area businesses. Students are then selected and recommended by the school's career specialists for summer jobs in Boston companies. Students work in entry-level jobs, largely clerical, for wages uniformly above minimum wage and comparable to wages the companies offer regular entry-level workers. The low unemployment rate in Boston makes it difficult to find competent student workers for minimum wage. In the opinion of those interviewed at Boston companies, the summer jobs program is popular for a variety of reasons:

- Students are prescreened by career specialists in the schools, and employers do not need to use an employment agency;

- Students often substitute for vacationing staff, and supervisors prefer the consistency of a single student over transient staff from temporary agencies; and

- Students' wages are usually paid from corporate personnel budgets rather than from the individual budgets of departments in which students work. This is true in eight of the 10 companies visited. Thus, departments are getting "free" help.

Some students are hired to continue after the summer--either part time if they are still attending high school or full time if they have graduated. Recent graduates are often able to convert their summer employment into a full-time position. If a student is hired as a permanent employee, departments have to pay wages from their own budgets. However, by the time the youth are on the departments' payroll, they are already trained, tested and integrated into the company's work environment. Thus, in some ways, the overall company subsidizes or provides "seed money" to departments to encourage more permanent hires from the Boston schools. Some employed students also find permanent jobs in other departments of the company as a result of their access to job postings and the increased confidence and improved skills they have gained.

The Private Industry Council's analysis of business participation in the 1985 Summer Jobs Program reveals a great deal about the nature of business participation in the jobs component of the Compact: 539 companies hired a total of 2,320 youth; one-fourth of the 2,320 jobs were provided by 15 companies, primarily those whose CEOs have been leaders in the Compact.

However, business participation in summer hiring was not restricted to large companies; over half the firms had fewer than 100 employees. Of the 539 companies that participated, over one-third had hired students for the first time in 1985. Among the most common types of firms hiring youth are banks (26%), health and hospitals (13%), retail (11%), and insurance (6%). It is not surprising that a majority of the jobs available in these companies are clerical, followed by maintenance and retail work.

For banks and large financial institutions, students are thoroughly screened for the jobs by career specialists and, in some cases, by the businesses themselves. Some companies have specific days when they interview students for available slots. One large company actually puts students through a comprehensive screening program; it begins with about 120 students in the fall and selects the best 75 for summer jobs in May. While one can argue that these students would have gotten jobs anyway, several company coordinators of the summer jobs program said that these students probably would not have either sought or been hired for these jobs without the program.

In many companies, the job is only one part of a comprehensive summer program developed by the school and business partner to address specific educational concerns. There are special activities for students, including a mandatory writing workshop in one company, a communications workshop in another and social events in many.

A number of students were hired by their departments after the summer, though businesses did not seem to be concerned with keeping a record of such hires and measuring benefits of Compact programs. One of the supervisors said that he was so impressed with a student that he held a job open for four months until the student who had worked part time had graduated from high school. Supervisors spoke positively about most students, more strongly for the summer workers than the year-round part-time ones. Some supervisors formed strong relationships with the youth, and spent time discussing their postgraduation plans; many youth came back to visit.

There is substantial evidence to suggest that the Compact has influenced growth in the number of both summer jobs and permanent jobs that major corporations have committed to the program. Table V.1 presents employment goals and achievements for each year of the Compact. During 1982, the first year of the Compact, 852 students were placed in the summer program; by 1986, the number had grown to 2,591. The business community has also achieved its yearly permanent employment goals: the PIC reports that the number of graduate hires increased from 415 in 1983 to 967 in 1986.

Another 1985 PIC survey demonstrated the importance of the jobs program for Boston's high school graduates. The survey was conducted by the PIC six months after graduation and succeeded in reaching three-quarters of the graduates. As Table V.2 demonstrates, 59 percent were working either full or part time. Only 7 percent of those contacted were unemployed or not in the labor force; as a result of PIC contact through the survey, an additional 35 unemployed youth were placed in jobs, reducing the percentage of those not employed or not in the labor force to 4.5 percent. By comparison, in a sample survey of 10 percent of the class of 1982 conducted by Jeannette S. Hargroves of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, the unemploy-ment rate was 20 percent.

Business Partnerships with Individual Schools

Many existing school/business partnerships underwent a metamorphosis following the creation of the Compact. Most partnerships had been established through the Tri-Lateral Council, but many had lost their focus and vigor in the decade since they were established. The Compact provided an opportunity to reevaluate the relationship. In two or three instances, the original partnership was dissolved and the school was paired with a new business partner. While all partnerships began to emphasize jobs, most have also chosen to focus on providing educational

Table V.1

SUMMER AND PERMANENT JOB PLACEMENTS AMONG BOSTON EMPLOYERS THROUGH THE BOSTON COMPACT

Year	Summer Placement Goal	Summer Placements	Permanent Placement Goal	Permanent Placements
1982	750	852	---	---
1983	1,000	1,181	400	415
1984	1,500	1,766	600	607
1985	2,000	2,320	750	823
1986	2,500	2,591	950	967

Table V.2

STATUS OF THE CLASS OF 1985
SIX MONTHS AFTER GRADUATION

Status	Percentage
Work Only	38
School Only	29
School/Work	21
Military	3
Unemployed	7
Other	2

Source: The Boston Private Industry Council, Inc. The Class of 1985: A Follow-up Study, p. 11.

and cultural services, increasing both the number and nature of these activities. The major contribution of the Compact to these activities has been an assessment of what was being done, how it fit in with the needs of the school and how it might be improved to better meet the educational goals of the schools and school district.

The revitalized partnerships are responsible for a variety of activities, few of which are unique to Boston. However, their presence in the schools indicates the degree of commitment that business has given to the Compact. Among the activities most commonly undertaken within the partnerships are:

- Tutoring
- Mentoring
- Sponsoring school functions
- Material and monetary donations, and
- Part-time, summer and full-time jobs.

Tutoring has been an important activity in some high schools for many years. A popular partnership activity, tutors were found in five of the eight schools visited. English High is an exam-ple of a school with over a decade of experience with volunteer tutors provided by their partner, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company. Placed in classes that range from English as a Second Language (ESL) to Computer Literacy to Vocational Education for the Handicapped, Hancock volunteers have become a coveted resource. One ESL teacher, originally instrumental in bringing the tutors into the school, yearned for the past when he did not have to vie with so many other teachers for tutors. The fact that volunteers gave up their lunch break once or twice a week indicates the importance they placed on this valuable addition to the classroom.

Mentoring, by comparison, is a relatively new activity. It was introduced into three schools (English, South Boston and Boston Tech) in 1985. Mentors are role models and resources for students who frequently lack such support mechanisms at home. Students, already exposed to the business through part-time jobs, were matched with employee volunteers in an attempt to foster support through more personal, one-on-one relationships. Two Hancock employees, for example, exhibited extra initiative and took their students to a local college to show students the school and obtain admission and financial aid information. Other mentor pairings have led to full-time jobs or focused career counseling for students not planning to attend college.

Sponsoring school functions has a much longer history, with the East Boston High/Massachusetts Port Authority (MassPort) partnership representing a good example of such involvement. The partnership, which preceded the Tri-Lateral Council agreement by almost a decade, began as a public relations effort on the part of MassPort to improve its image in the wake of community dissatisfaction over noise from Logan Airport. Sponsoring sports banquets at East Boston High was therefore seen as a popular response to such unrest and has continued ever since, with additional resources and services donated over time, including a "refenestration program" in which the majority of windows in the school were replaced to soundproof the building from airport noise. While the latter is perhaps an unusual response on the part of a partner to the needs of a school, underwriting the cost of special school functions and having company presidents attend such occasions is common. An advertisement called "A Class Act" recently announced the 1985 commencement exercises for Hyde Park High School; the Bank of Boston recognized all graduates by name in a one-page advertisement in The Boston Globe; the president of the Bank of Boston, Ira Stepanian, addressed the class gathering. Banquets and award ceremonies honoring students for good attendance, and recognizing outstanding efforts on the part of teachers, are also regular activities.

Donating material goods and financial resources to the school is perhaps the most frequent response on the part of a business partner. College scholarships are especially common. Each year, some businesses contribute between one and four full four-year scholarships for graduating seniors. In addition to the special services supplied to Brighton High (interior painting) and East Boston High (new windows), resources generally donated by business partners include computers, printing school newspapers and programs for special functions, tickets for local sports and cultural events, and funding special academic programs (such as the Reading Is Fundamental [RIF] program) and student foreign exchange programs. Numerous other forms of financial and moral support were also provided.

Companies like The New England report spending as much as $175,000 a year on the partnership programs, including staff time, coordination time, and cash or in-kind contribution to schools. The range of activities is impressive and many have received national recognition.

Management of Partnership Activities

In recent years, large companies, particularly financial and other service industries in Boston and elsewhere, have institutionalized involvement with schools and other public service organizations. Community Affairs, Public Affairs or Human Relations departments have been given the responsibility and budget to do this. In Boston, the Compact created a framework to coordinate and focus some of this activity within a corporation. The individuals who coordinate activities with the schools, usually middle managers, perform this work as part of their regular job. For some, it is a major portion of their job, and for others, it must be combined with other responsibilities. As a result of this structure, business coordinators can be more energetic and systematic about school activities than their school counterpart, often a development officer, administrator or teacher who has many other responsibilities.

At one large bank, several employees complained that "there should be more accountability on the school side for the partnership and its effectiveness," and "we are evaluated on our performance in the partnership; they [headmasters, for example] are not." This company, and several others, found school partners to be reluctant to allow business people into the schools. Partnership activities are often not given as much priority in the schools as they are in the businesses, despite the fact that the business people volunteer and take time from other activities to assist the schools. The lack of priority is sometimes reflected in poor coordination. In one school, for example, a trip to an amusement park was scheduled in conflict with a mentor breakfast. As a result, only half the mentors had their students attend the breakfast. In several schools, the teachers were "nonbelievers" for a long time or were afraid that the business people wanted to tell them what to do. They had to be convinced that the business partner was there not to tell them how to teach but to be helpful and to provide assistance and resources.

Other corporate partners faced different problems of management and communications. One school asked for too much and had to be told that while the business wanted to help achieve educational goals, it was not a bottomless source of funds. Several business coordinators were concerned about improving communication and establishing realistic expectations of what the business partner could contribute.

In general, involvement of business partners has been sustained because there are institutionalized roles in the corporations to fulfill these duties. As a result, some of the activities have become highly routinized and the coordinator overseeing partnership activities may fail to give them adequate scrutiny. In some partnerships, a periodic change in a business's leadership or liaison person with the school has been helpful in keeping the partnership vigorous.

THE IMPACT ON BUSINESSES

It was difficult to get business respondents to describe how companies benefit from the programs. Some said that individual employees enjoy working on some partnership activities; they cited seminars and the supervision/mentor aspect of working with summer hires. In general, they said companies do not think in terms of what they get out of it, but in terms of what they give. Few alluded to any increase in good employees or major changes in hiring practices.

One benefit of the Compact has been its ability to foster communication between businesses and schools and give individuals in each sector the opportunity to learn about one another's problems. While there is better communication between the business community and the schools, there is still some tension between them. There is also widespread concern about the large number of dropouts and the condition of the schools in general, but the private sector is not disillusioned or discouraged, particularly at policy-setting levels. Rather, the corporate community has developed a growing feeling of responsibility for the schools and has begun several initiatives on its own. These initiatives have been grouped under the Boston Plan for Excellence.

The Boston Plan was launched in 1983 by the Bank of Boston as "a broad supportive umbrella under which a number of separate initiatives and programs can be launched in support of the schools." Established as an independent foundation for public education, the plan was funded by a donation of $1.5 million as a permanent endowment; the first initiative consisted of school improvement grants "to stimulate and reward initiative and creativity by an individual teacher and local school." Since that time, three other major corporations have funded new initiatives through the foundation:

- The Bank of New England donated $300,000 for a five-year Teacher Fellowship Program;

- The John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company established a $1 million endowment to be used as grants for basic skills and sports programs in the middle schools; and

- The New England Mutual Life Insurance Company established a $1 million endowment for the ACCESS program, a financial aid advice and "last dollar" scholarship program for Boston high school students who wish to continue their education beyond high school.

The reach of ACCESS has recently been expanded by a multi-million dollar fundraising drive to ensure that no qualified graduate of the Boston Public Schools be denied access to higher education due to lack of financial counseling and/or resources. To this end, a goal of $5 million has been set to establish a permanent endowment for financial counseling and tuition aid. Almost $4 million had already been raised by the time the fundraising drive was announced publicly in the fall of 1986. In addition, the business community pledged priority hiring of those public school students who graduate from college.

There is little question that the Compact had a significant impact on the whole concept of school/business partnerships in Boston. While many had been in existence for several years as a result of the Tri-Lateral Council, both the degree and focus of involvement were considerably altered as the partnerships became routinized. Many businesses shifted primary emphasis to the jobs component of the partnership to meet the terms of the Compact agreement. However, their experience in the jobs component often encouraged them to revitalize their involvement in other school improvement activities as well. Greater access to and utilization of resources, along with greater attention to planning and goals, perhaps represent the most widely noted impact of both the Compact in general and the partnerships in particular.

The recruitment of CEOs and their direct involvement and interest in partnership activities appears to account for this difference. Prior to the Compact, businesses were usually represented by middle managers with little if any direction from above. With the Compact came accountability as well as an increase in the workload of the business coordinator. CEOs became highly visible in their support not only of the partnerships but of the public school system itself.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The Boston Compact has been widely heralded as a unique and innovative partnership between the business community and the public school system, a partnership in which both sectors made commitments that would ultimately benefit the economy and the schools. The private sector offered the incentives of jobs for students and graduates, and continued support and assistance to the schools; the school district agreed to increase its effectiveness by meeting targeted and measurable goals.

The Compact has been acclaimed for its concept, comprehensive scope and specific components. Communities all over the country either claim or plan to be "another Boston Compact." The interest in the Compact continues even as it evolves and matures. New initiatives involving the business community have emerged and, while finding their genesis within the original Compact, have sometimes replaced the Compact in the public eye. However, corporate interest in the Compact has not flagged. New employment and educational objectives have been established and a 1986 conference on dropout prevention placed the Compact squarely in the center of its proposed initiatives.

This report has described the goals and origins of the Compact, and the implementation of its principal program components. In this final section we review the accomplishments of the Compact as of the summer of 1986 and the factors that influenced its outcomes. We not only assess the accomplishments of its program components but also reflect on the structural and attitudinal changes that may have occurred in the schools and businesses and in the relationship between the two sectors as by-products of the Compact. Further, we draw some lessons from our study of the Boston experience and the implications of those lessons for establishing a successful and comprehensive linkage between the business community and schools, one that can improve both the economy and education.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COMPACT

The Compact is a bargain between schools and businesses under which each would establish and achieve measurable goals. According to objective indicators, the business community has been more successful than the schools in achieving its goals in a measurable way. The number of jobs provided to both students and graduates of the Boston Public Schools increased substantially during the past five years. Each year, new and higher targets for employment were set and achieved.

As part of the Compact agreement, the school district pledged to improve its performance as measured by higher test scores, improved attendance rates and decreased rates of dropping out. Schools were more successful on some of these measures than others. Between 1982-83 and 1984-85, median test scores on national achievement tests in reading and mathematics increased by 8 to 20 percentiles for grades 9 through 11, with the exception of 11th-grade reading scores, which did not change. Although the system still lags somewhat behind national norms, it made considerable progress toward national medians in reading and mathematics. Positive changes were reported across the school district; no single set of schools accounted for the increases. Although recent test results indicate some slippage relative to new natinal norms, progress has been impressive.

Average daily attendance increased between 1981-82 and 1984-85 as well. While almost one-quarter of all high school students were absent daily during the 1981-82 school year, absences decreased to just over 15 percent by 1984-85.

The problem untouched during the past five years is attrition. Since the Compact was signed, dropout rates have remained stubbornly high. Forty-three percent of all 9th-graders leave school before graduating. A variety of factors and pressures have been identified as proximate causes for the intransigence of these rates, but limited solutions have been found. The Boston community recently committed itself and the resources encompassed by the Compact to deal with the problem. New initiatives have been undertaken and existing, promising programs expanded. By the 1986-87 school year, Compact Ventures, the dropout prevention program directed at 9th-graders, had been initiated in 10 high schools. It is too early to determine the success of these efforts.

It would not be sufficient to review the accomplishments of the Compact only in terms of its measurable achievements. We observed other outcomes that were not a part of the formal plan or agreement. These may be as important as, and with greater potential for long-term impact than, the actual school improvement outcomes that were pledged. Areas that were affected by the Compact are as follows:

(1) The business community increased its support of Boston's schools. Involvement of the business community in the design and implementation of the Compact included individuals at all levels: executives, middle managers, line supervisors, and rank-and-file staff. They were involved in setting policy, hiring and supervising young people, and participating in school partnership activities. As a result, a large number of people came directly in contact with the schools, and became more and more aware of both the problems and successes that characterize the public schools and their students. While these tangible signs of support are critical, a potentially more important development was

the political support engendered by this awareness and familiarity with the schools. Growing advocacy for the schools has emerged within the business community, at a time when the schools' traditional constituency--parents, homeowners, the general community--was disappearing or losing clout.

(2) Teacher and school morale improved. Within the schools we visited (and reportedly in the others), teacher and school morale rose in response to the business community's increased attention and participation. This occurred largely through the efforts of the revitalized partnerships, which brought additional resources into the schools. Some business efforts targeted teachers directly, through teacher recognition programs and special courses or workshops. Many teachers felt rewarded and recognized, at a time when the improved morale and self-confidence of teachers is needed to promote more committed teaching and learning in the schools.

(3) Physical improvements were made in the schools. The presence of the business community in the schools contributed many physical improvements. Several partnerships provided money and materials directly. Others advocated increased allocations by the school district for renovation and repair. Teachers and students cited improved physical environments as the reason for increased morale.

(4) Students may have raised their aspirations. Although some school indicators, like dropout rates, have not improved, many individual students were greatly influenced by opportunities provided as a result of the Compact. These include job experiences, relationships developed with supervisors and exposure gained through partnership activities. Though the study was unable to capture the total scope of these effects, we were impressed by the frequency with which administrators, teachers and students mentioned them.

(5) Business developed additional initiatives. The Compact served to reinforce the private sector's interest in working to improve the public school system. Although the Compact in Boston remains the focal point of much business involvement in public schools, the involvement of the business community in education has been expanded to include other educational activities. The most visible new initiative is the Boston Plan for Excellence.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE COMPACT'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Despite the fact that the school improvement outcomes that were pledged were not all achieved, the cumulative impact of the Compact, its unintended as well as intended outcomes, is such that the Compact must be considered a success. In this section, we note the factors that contributed to its accomplishments. In a subsequent section, we comment on factors that may have hindered achievement of some of the Compact's objectives.

The following are factors that contributed to both the private sector's and public schools' ability to translate the Compact concept into specific components and to implement them rapidly:

- The involvement and commitment of the city's top corporate leaders. The role of the Vault in creating and giving legitimacy to the Compact should be emphasized. The commitment of key business leaders is needed for bold new initiatives, especially when broad changes are sought.

- The presence of the PIC as a strong intermediary. Boston's PIC had experience in job development for youth, the backing of the most influential business people in the city and competent leadership. The organization's role in the design, management and monitoring of the Compact components, particularly the employment programs and the revitalized partnerships with schools, were key to the success of those components. Particularly effective were the career specialists who were hired and coordinated by the PIC, and who, for the most part, had private sector experience. Although some had more trouble than others in gaining acceptance from school administrators and staff, most were considered important additions to the high school staff and filled roles not carried out by existing staff.

- Responsibilities and obligations defined for both parties to the agreements. The Boston Compact stipulated obligations for both the business sector and the educational sector. From the outset, the theme of the Compact has been that both parties to the agreement had a responsibility to meet their goals.

- Building on existing programs. Many of the program components of the Boston Compact were not new, but built on existing programs and, in some cases, revitalized them. A major feature of the Compact was assembling several components under one umbrella, strengthening each and creating a whole that is somewhat greater than the sum of its parts. Predating the Compact were the Jobs Collaborative, the Tri-Lateral Council and other school improvement program initiatives.

- The presence of an innovative and risk-taking superintendent. Spillane, the superintendent of the Boston Public Schools when the Compact was designed, was able to gain the confidence of the business sector. Equally important was his willingness to take risks and invite the involvement of the business community. Since many educators and educational administrators fear exposing their system to outsiders in the business community, the progress of the Compact was in no small measure due to the willingness of key leaders to take the risk. Even upon Spillane's departure, the Compact remained viable and continues as the primary link between business and public education in Boston.

- Visibility and national exposure. The Boston Compact captured the imagination of the greater Boston community and a national audience as well. Such visibility often breeds participation and involvement.

LIMITATIONS OF THE COMPACT

The Boston Compact is grand in concept and in scope. In reflecting on why all its goals were not achieved and where it fell short, a question arises: is it realistic to expect the private sector to stimulate the school district to accomplish systemwide school improvement, with measurable gains in outcomes? This is what the Compact set out to achieve. It was not designed as a "program." It was meant to be a stimulus, a "carrot" for school improvement. Officially, the collaboration ended there; it would be up to the schools and the system's leadership to develop and implement plans for school improvement.

Therein may lie the problem. The Compact was a "top-down" phenomenon, with little linkage between those who planned and led the initiative and those responsible for implementation, particularly in the schools. Agreements were made between high-level business people and school district executives. There never was a grand design, collaboratively derived, for school change. The Compact staff offered regular assistance in meeting the requirements for completing the annual school plan. However, in many schools, the mandate for improvement was perceived as just another directive from the district office involving additional bureaucratic paperwork. It was the occasional entrepreneurial headmaster who utilized this opportunity to achieve his or her agenda for school reform. In such cases, the Compact was a boon. That is not the same as "system change." The level of coordination for the school improvement process offered by the Compact office was not sufficient to overcome its weaknesses.

We can speculate that there are additional explanations for why systemwide change--or at least more school improvement outcomes--did not occur. Since school improvement is the ultimate focus of the Compact, it is not surprising there is considerable difference between the goals of the business community and the school district. The business community's obligation to provide jobs did not include assigning specific numbers to individual firms nor was a firm even required to provide any jobs or resources as part of supporting the Compact. But each high school was held accountable for improvements in test scores, attendance and dropout rates. Also, the business community's obligation to find and hire qualified candidates is met by career specialists and the PIC. With the exception of the development officers who were asked to perform a wide variety of tasks and career specialists whose placement efforts reduced some demands on guidance officers, the high schools did not receive comparable assistance.

In two of the eight schools that we visited, there was no development officer, and others were at risk of being cut from the budgets at the end of the school year. Some schools did receive new and additional resources from their business partners, in part stimulated by the Compact. However, this varied from school to school and the resources were not necessarily tied to school improvement activities that would produce measurable results. The school development plans differed little from the mechanisms that other school district improvement programs had been using. Except for a dropout prevention program for 9th-graders that the PIC was supporting in some schools, and some additional coordination of Tri-Lateral Council partnership activities, the schools were left on their own to find new ways to achieve school improvement. Thus, it should be no surprise that the Boston Compact did not eliminate all of the school system's problems.

School improvement is a slow process, and perhaps it is too early to know whether the changes stimulated by the Compact will foster and sustain reduced dropout rates, higher achievement and other school changes. Other factors operating on the schools are equally compelling and may actually block the changes that were expected. Increasing graduation requirements and the tightening of standards in the short term are actually likely to increase rather than decrease the dropout rate. If students could not graduate under the old system, it may be even harder now, especially without the infusion of major resources and assistance to overcome their deficiencies. Finally, the arrival of a new superintendent in the fall of 1985 heralded a predictable slow-down in the force of the Compact. Although he didn't reject the Compact, the new chief executive officer naturally promoted his own agenda and attended to a number of other emergent issues.

It may be unreasonable to expect that an external initiative that loosely coordinates a variety of programs can produce rapid educational change throughout an entire school system. Change has begun to occur in individual schools and classrooms. Change in the whole system requires more time. For this reason, it is encouraging that the Boston business community has expanded its support of the schools with a new venture, the Boston Plan for Excellence. Although it targets individuals, it aims to benefit the entire system. The business community sees this effort as an extension of its support of the Boston Public Schools under the Compact.

The Boston Compact set in motion a process and a structure by which responsibility for improvement of the educational and career opportunities of Boston's youth is shared by the larger community and does not rest solely with the schools. To the extent that the Compact framework remains flexible enough to respond to the changing needs and priorities of both the schools and the private sector, it can continue to serve as a vehicle for school improvement.

The Compact is a link in the continuing chain of community responsibility for the public schools. It built on previous efforts by the business community to become involved in the schools, generated additional efforts and created the foundation for new directions that are being taken today. It is this cumulative composite that may ultimately effect "systemic educational change" in Boston.

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